

THE
TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

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Bhar.¹—A caste of apparently Dravidian origin ~~found in the~~ eastern parts of the United Provinces.

They are also known as Rājbar, Bharat, and Bharpatri. The word Bhar is derived by the Pandits from the Sanskrit root *bhr*, to nourish, but this is improbable, and it is more likely to be of non-Aryan origin. Dr. Oppert² indulges in some curious speculations on the subject. He suggests their connection with the Barhai of Ptolemy (VII-2-20), and with the Bharatas, a mountain tribe mentioned in connection with the Sabaras and with the Barbara, Varvara, or Barbarian. The derivation of large numbers of local names in Upper India from the same source, such as Bihār, Balnau, Bānabanki, Bareilly, Barhaj, Baihar, and even Varanasi or Benares, etc., must be accepted with the greatest caution.

2. This tribe has given rise to much wild speculation. In Gorakhpur they claim to be the descendants of, and named from, an early Kshatriya Rāja named Bhāradwāja, whose sons strayed from the ancient way of life and took to the use of meat and wine. Their descendant Surha settled in the village of Surauli, and wishing to marry a high caste Rājput girl, was murdered by her relations, and became an evil spirit, who does much damage still if he is not duly propitiated. That they claim to have been once a dominant race in the eastern part of Oudh and the North-Western Provinces is certain. Thus Sir C. Elliott writes :—"The scene before us in Oudh at the fall of the historic curtain is an uninhabited forest country and a

¹ Based on information collected at Mirzapur and notes received through Mr. H. E. L. P. Dupernex, C. S., Azamgarh, and from Munshi Chhedi Lal, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Gorakhpur.

² *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 87, sqq.
Vol. II.

large colony of Sûrajbansis occupying Ajudhya as their capital. When the curtain rises again we find Ajudhya destroyed, the Sûrajbansis utterly banished, and a large extent of country ruled over by aborigines, called Cheros in the Far East, Bhars in the Centre, and Râjpâsis in the West. This great revolution seems to be satisfactorily explained by the conjecture that the Bhars, Cheros, etc., were the aborigines whom the Aryans had driven to the hills, and who, swarming down from thence not long after the beginning of our era, overwhelmed the Aryan civilisation even in Ajudhya itself, drove the Sûrajbansis under Kanaksen to emigrate into distant Gujarât, and spread over all the plain between the Himalayas and that spur of the Vindhya range which passes through the south of Mirzapur.¹ Again we read that the primitive inhabitants of Sultânpur are said to have been Bhars. "Their character is painted in the most sombre colours. They are represented to have been dark-complexioned, ill-favoured, and of mean stature, intemperate in their habits, and not only devoid of any religious belief themselves, but addicted to the persecution of those who ventured to profess any. They are said to have possessed a few scattered and detached fortresses to serve as rallying points; but to have been otherwise of nomadic and predatory habits, while their numbers are said to have barely sufficed to furnish a scanty population to the tract they occupied."² In support of these pretensions to have been a ruling race in the eastern part of the Province, numerous old stone forts, embankments, wells, and subterraneous caverns are attributed to them. Thus the Chiraiyakot fort, in Ghâzipur, is said to have been their work.³ The same is the case with numerous ruins in the Basti and Ghâzipur Districts.⁴ The present town of Bahuaich is said to take its name from them and to have been their oldest abode, from which they spread southward into Faizâbâd and Sultânpur. Similarly they are said to have left their name in the Bhadohi and Barhar parganas of Mirzapur.⁵ Two other fortresses of the Bhars are said to have been Zahurâbâd and Lakhnesar, in Ghâzipur.⁶ In Gorakhpur they are said to have been ousted by the Kausik Râjputs. Mr. Sherring considers

¹ *Chronicles of Unao*, 27.

² *Settlement Report*, 87, sq.

³ Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, XXII., 107.

⁴ Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 379; Oldham, *Memoir*, I., 15-26.

⁵ Elliott, *Chronicles of Unao*, 26.

⁶ Oldham, *Memoir*, I., 46.

their capital in Mirzspur to have been Pampapura near Bindbâchal, where extensive ruins and a curious series of bearded stone figures are attributed to them.¹ In fact, throughout Oudh and the eastern part of the North-West Provinces every town the name of which does not end in *pur*, *âbâd*, or *man* is assigned to them.²

3. An attempt has been made to support these traditions by

historical evidence. On the evidence of two inscriptions from Ajaygarh and Kalinjar, in Bandelkhand, and a passage from Farishta, Mr. W. C. Bayly³ argues "that a man whose name is not given, but who is described as the founder of his family, possessed himself of the fort of Ajaygarh. One of his descendants was Malika, whose brother Dalki, on the overthrow of the last Kanauj King, conquered the whole of the Duâb; and Farishta records the utter defeat and destruction of Dalki and Malki, who had royal forts at Kalinjar and Karra and held the whole country as far as Mâlwa in their possession, by Nasir-ud-din Muhammad, the King of Delhi, in 1246 A. D. The universal tradition of Southern Oudh proves that these princes were really Bhars, and that the whole of the south of the province as far as the Ghâgra was included in their dominions." This theory, however, has failed to stand further investigation, and the Princes Dalki and Malki are identified by General Cunningham with the Baghel Râjas Dalakeswar and Malakeswar.⁴ It is probable that out of the same legend has arisen the worship of Râja Bal, who is specially venerated by Bhars and Ahîrs. His worship is connected with protection from snake-bite. He is said to have been one of two Bhar brothers who ruled at Dalmau and Râê Bareli, and were slain by the Muhammadans in the time of Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. In their memory, it is said that the Bharautiya section of Ahîrs in time of mourning abstain from wearing anklets. Bal Râja is chiefly worshipped in Râê Bareli, Basti, and Eastern Oudh. He has 76,395 followers. The evidence, then, for an extensive Bhar kingdom in the eastern part of the Province rests almost entirely on the so-called Bhar *dîhs* or ancient mounds

¹ *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 359, sqq.

² *Chronicles of Unao*, 26; *Lucknow Settlement Report*, 62, 110. For other instances see Sherting, *loc. cit.* I., 357, sqq.

³ *Oudh Gazetteer, Introduction*, XXXV., sq.; *Indian Antiquary*, I., 205, sq.; *Clans of Rae Bareilly*, 2.

⁴ *Archæological Survey*, XXI., 105; *Census Report, North-West Provinces*, 1891, p. 220.

and forts which abound all over the country, and on the so-called Bhar tanks, which are distinguished from those of a later date by being Surajbedi or longer from east to west, while modern tanks are Chandrabedi or lie north and south. Who may have been the builders of these monuments, our existing knowledge hardly entitles us to say with certainty. But that the identification of these monuments with the Bhars is not in every case to be trusted is proved by the fact that two buildings at Bihâr, in Partâbgarh, which are confidently ascribed to the Bhars by a writer in the *Oudh Gazetteer*,¹ are proved by General Cunningham to be genuine Buddhist stupas.² Similarly, the identification of the Bhars with the early rulers of the country presents many features of difficulty. Their identification with the Ubaræ of Pliny and the Barrihai of Ptolemy³ is little more than conjectural. As Sir H. M. Elliot pointed out⁴:—"It is strange that no trace of Bhars is to be found in the Purânas, unless we may consider that there is an obscure indication of them in the Brahma Purâna, where, it is said, that among the descendants of Jayadhwaia are the Bhâratas, who, it is added, are not commonly specified on account of their great number, or they may perhaps be the Bhaigas of the Mahâbhârata subdued by Bhimsen on his Eastern expedition." To this it has been replied by Mr. Sherring⁵ that, first, Brâhmanical writers generally speak of the Dasyus and Asuras with superciliousness and contempt, and, secondly, the abandonment of a considerable tract of country by the Aryans was dishonourable and not likely to be mentioned. It is, perhaps, possible that the Bhars, like the Doms, may have established a fairly advanced civilisation prior to their downfall. But, as Dr. Tylor remarks:—"Degeneration probably operates even more actively in the lower than the higher culture,"⁶ and we must be cautious in identifying the race of fort and tank builders with the existing Bhars mainly on the uncertain evidence of popular tradition. Whoever these people were, they probably succumbed before the eastern emigration of the Râjput tribes contemporaneous with the

¹ I., 306.

² *Archæological Survey*, XI., 67.

³ Mr. J. W. McOrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, VI., 339; XIII., 330.

⁴ *Supplemental Glossary*, s. v.

⁵ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., V., 376. On the Bharatas, see Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha*, 573, sqq.

⁶ *Primitive Culture*, I., 46.

fall of Kanauj and the invasion of Shâhabuddîn Ghorî. In Azamgarh and Ghâzipur they were driven out by the Sengar tribe, who reckon fifteen generations since their immigration; in Mirzapur and the adjoining part of Allahâbâd by the Gaharwâr; in Bhadohi, north of the Ganges, by the Monas, and further west, in Allahâbâd, by the Bais, Sonak, Tissyâl, Bisen, and Nanwak; in Faizâbâd and Eastern Oudh by the Bais; and in Gorakhpur by the Kausik. "The overthrow of the Bhars was followed by the establishment, much as we find them now, of the principal elements of modern Oudh society. The country was divided into a number of small chieftainships, ruled over by clans who, whatever their real origin may have been, all professed themselves to be of the ruling caste of Chhatris. Many of these, such as the Kânhpuriyas of Partâbgarh, the Gaurs of Hardoi, and their offshoot the Amethiyas of Râe Bareli are probably descendants of men or tribes who flourished under the low caste government."¹ How far this process may have gone on is one of the problems connected with the Râjput Ethnology of the eastern part of the Province. Mr. Carvegy was of opinion that the more respectable and influential Râjput clansmen may have fled before the then dominant rulers of the serpent race or of the followers of Buddha; but that the mass of the Chhatris remained and were in fact none other than the Bhars, Cheros, and the like, and that the final overthrow of these degraded races after the fall of Delhi was neither more nor less than the restoration of Râjput influence in those parts where it had been dormant, and the social reclamation of the Bhars.² Mr. V. A. Smith³ again believes them to have been Jains, and Mr. Millett thinks them to be probably of Scythic origin, and that the termination of their influence was coeval with the first Aryan invasion.⁴ The most probable supposition is that the Bhars were a Dravidian race closely allied to the Kols, Cheros, and Seoris, who at an early date succumbed to the invading Aryans. This is borne out by their appearance and physique, which closely resemble that of the undoubted non-Aryan aborigines of the Vindhyan Kaimûr plateau.

4. The last Census classes the Bhars under the main sub-castes of Bhâradwâj, Kanaujiya, and Râjbhar. We find among the locally more important sub-

Internal structure.

¹ *Oudh Gazetteer, Introduction, XXXV.*

² *Notes, 19.*

³ *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877.*

castes the Hela of Benares, the Goriya of Jaunpur; in Ghâzipur, the Baltent, Dhelphor, Dhongiya, Kharwâra, Khutant, Kinwâr, Kuntel, Maunas, Pataun, Sarpos; in Ballia, the Dhelphor and Kulwant; in Faizâbâd, the Bhagta, Gangoha, and Râôdâs; and in Bahrâich, the Patolbans. The Bhars of Mirzapur name three endogamous sub-divisions—Bhar Bhuînâr, Râjbhar, and Dusâdha. The local Pâsis represent the Bhars as merely a sub-caste of their tribe; but this is denied by the Bhars themselves. The Bhar Bhuînâr assert that they are the remnant of the ruling race among the Bhars. In support of this they wear the sacred thread, and have begun generally to call themselves Sârâjbansî Râjputs. The other Bhars, they say, are the descendants of a single pregnant woman who escaped the general massacre of the tribe by the Turks or Muhammadans. The Dusâdha Bhars are not acknowledged by the Dusâdhs themselves, but the Bhars claim them as a regular sub-caste.

5. Bhars have the usual rule of exogamy, that is they will not intermarry in their own family or in that of their maternal uncle and father's sister until four or five generations have elapsed. They prefer to marry in those families with whom they have been accustomed for generations to eat and smoke. In Gorakhpur the usual sevenfold division is made up of the Bhar, Râjbhar, Musahar, Godiya, Chain, Patiwan, and Tiyar, in which we have several different, but possibly originally cognate tribes mixed up. In Azamgarh¹ they name several sub-castes—Bhar, Râjbhar, Biyâr, Patiwan, Bind, and Jonkaha or "leech-finders." Of these the Bind and Biyâr are practically independent castes, and have here been accordingly treated separately. In Azamgarh the Bhars are reckoned outcasts, but the Râjbhar are counted among Hindus. There the special title of the Râjbhars is Patait, and of the common Bhars Khuntait. The latter rear pigs, which the former do not. These divisions intermarry, but the families who do not keep pigs will not marry with those who do. Intercourse between the sexes is regulated by no strict rule. If an unmarried girl intrigue with a clansman they are married after a fine is exacted from the girl's father by the tribal council. A man may take a second wife in the lifetime of the first, with her consent, which is generally given, as it relieves

¹ Settlement Report, 33.

her of household work.¹ In Azamgarh the tendency seems to be towards monogamy, and a second marriage is allowed only when the first wife is barren, insane, or hopelessly diseased. When a second wife is taken she is usually a younger sister or close relation of the first. Concubinage is not permitted. They have a strong representative council (*panchāyat*), which is presided over by a chairman (*chaudhāri*), whose office is hereditary. The council deals with offences in connection with marriage and caste usages. Illegitimate children by women of other castes follow the caste of the father, but are not allowed to eat, smoke, or intermarry with legitimate Bhars. Widow marriage is permitted. Widows generally marry widowers. The levirate is permitted but not enforced.

6. In the marriage of a widow by *sagdi* the bridegroom, accompanied by his friends, goes to the house of the widow, where he pays a nominal sum as the bride-price. They are all entertained on pork, boiled rice, and pulse. The bride is dressed in ornaments and clothes provided by her suitor. Next morning he brings her home and announces the union by feeding his clansmen. If he be not a widower he has to perform a special ceremony. The bride and bridegroom sit opposite each other, and a silver ring is placed between them. The Pandit repeats some verses, during the recital of which the bridegroom marks the ring five times with red lead. He then puts on the ring, and never takes it off during his life. Girls are usually married at the age of five or seven. In Azamgarh marriages are reported to take place usually when the girl is nine years of age. A girl above ten is known as *rajaswāli*, and it is a disgrace not to have her married. The bride-price payable by the friends of the bridegroom is two-and-a-half rupees and a sheet for the bride. In Azamgarh no bride-price is paid, and if the bridegroom's family is poor his friends contribute something to the marriage expenses, which is known as *tilak*. Any serious physical defect appearing in either party after marriage is recognised as a valid ground for divorce. A wife cannot be divorced except for adultery with a stranger to the caste. The divorce must be with the leave of the tribal council, who will accept no evidence short of that of actual eye-witnesses. Marriage negotiations are carried on by the maternal uncle of the boy. When the match is settled the

¹ See instances of this in Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 406.

bride's father goes to the boy's house and gives him a rupee. Then on a fixed day he returns with some of his clansmen "to drink water" (*pānī pīnī kū dīn*). A square (*cāauk*) is formed in the court-yard, in which the boy and his future father-in-law sit opposite each other. The bride's father marks the boy's forehead with rice and curds, and he and his party are entertained on rice, pork, goat's flesh, and wine. On this day, with the approval of the Pandit, the wedding day is fixed. The ritual is of the usual type. It begins with the *matmangar*, or collection of earth, as practised by allied castes. Then the pavilion (*mānra*) is set up at both houses, in which a plough-share and plantain stems are fixed, near which the family rice-pounder and corn-mill are placed. That day the Pandit makes the boy wear an amulet to keep off evil spirits. This contains some mango leaves, an iron ring, and some mustard seed. Next follows the anointing (*ubtauni*), and the sacrifice of a young pig to Agwān Deva, the Pānchonpīr, and Phūlmātī Devi. At the last Census 25,069 people recorded themselves as worshippers of Agwān Deva. According to Mr Bailie the word means "a leader and may be the priest (*pujārī*) in any temple. One District note states that Agwān is a disease godling, the son of Rāja Ben, and, therefore, brother to the seven small-pox sisters." With many of the lower castes to the east of the province he seems to be connected with the worship of fire (*agni*) in the form of the *homa*. The higher class Bhais sacrifice a goat instead of a pig to the Pānchonpīr. As the procession starts the usual incantation ceremony (*parachhan*) is done by the boy's mother. The rest of the ritual is of the usual type. At the bride's door the Pandit worships Gauri and Ganesa, and the pair, with their clothes knotted together, move five times round the centre pole of the shed. Next follows the ceremony in the retiring room (*kohabar*), where jokes are played on the boy by the bride's father's sister, who will not desist until she gets a present. The rest of the ceremonial is of the customary type.

7. During pregnancy the oldest woman in the family waves a

Birth ceremony. pice or a handful of grain over the woman's head, and vows to offer a pig to Birtihā

(who is regarded as a village deity, *dīā*), and to Phūlmātī Devi, if the confinement is easy. The Chamāin midwife cuts the cord with a sickle and buries it in the delivery room: a fire is lighted over it, and kept burning during the period of pollution. After the sixth

day ceremony (*cāhatā*) the barber's wife takes the place of the midwife. The birth pollution ceases on the twelfth day (*barsāi*) when the father offers a pig and some wine to Birtihā Deva. On her first visit to the well the mother worships it and lays a little washed rice (*achhat*) on the platform. The husband does not cohabit with his wife for six months after her confinement.¹ The only initiation ceremony is the usual ear-boring (*kanchhedan*, *kandedha*), which is done at the age of five or six. After this the child must observe the caste rules of food.

8. The dead, except those who are unmarried or those dying of cholera or small-pox, are cremated. The

Death ceremonies.

others are buried or their corpses thrown into running water. Within six months they are cremated in effigy with the usual ritual. The death pollution lasts ten days, during which, daily, the chief mourner pours water on a bunch of *kusa* grass fixed in the ground on the edge of a tank as a dwelling place for the disembodied spirit. He also daily lays out a little food for the ghost. They shave on the tenth day and offer sacred balls (*pinda*) in the usual way. On that day uncooked grain (*sīdha*) is given to Brāhmins, and the clansmen are fed on pork, boiled rice, and wine.

9. Bhars are hardly ever initiated into any one of the regular

Religion. Hindu sects. Their tribal deities are Agwān

Deva, Phūlmatī Bhawānī, the Pānchonpīr, generally represented by Panhār, and a deified ghost known as Bānru Bīr. The Pānchonpīr are worshipped in the months of Jeth or Kuār with fowls and cakes (*malīda*). The other deities require the sacrifice of a pig or goat and an oblation of wine. In Gorakhpur the tribal godlings are Kālīka and Kāshī Dās Bāba, a deified Bhū. His platform is in a jungle in the Deoriya Tahsil. There they go once a year to worship him with an offering of cakes, rice, milk, and curds. Kālīka is worshipped in the house or in the field when it is ready for the sowing of the spring crop. Her favourite offering is a young, fat pig. According to Mr. Baillie, Kāshī Dās is particularly worshipped by Ahīrs in the Eastern Districts. It is uncertain whether in life he was a Brāhman or an Ahīr. His votaries number, according to the last Census returns, 172,599.² They have the usual feast to the dead in Kuār. Their religious

¹ On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 488, sq.

² A further account of him is given under Bind, 9.

duties are done by Brāhmans of the low village class. They observe the festivals of the Phagna, Dasami, Diwāli, Kajari, Khichari, and Tīj. A special sacrifice of a pig is made to the evil spirits who reside in the old fig trees of the village. This is done in Aghan. Some go to Gaya to perform the *śrāddha* ceremony. The pīpal tree is regarded as the abode of Vasudeva, and women bow and cover their faces as they pass it.

10. Women are tattooed on the arms. A pig or an ass is regarded as a lucky meeting omen. Women wear glass bangles (*chūri*) on the wrist, bead necklaces, nose rings, (*nathiya*), ear ornaments (*karanphūl*), and anklets (*pairi*). Men wear a gold coin (*mohar*) round the neck. Children have two names, one given by the Pandit, which is kept secret, and the other, for ordinary use, selected by the parents. They swear on Ganges water, on the head of a son, and standing in water, and in the phrases *Rāma kriya*, *Rāma dūhāt*, *Ganga māi kriya*, *Bhawānti kriya*. They believe in magic and witchcraft, but do not practice these arts themselves. They believe in demoniacal possession and the Evil-eye, and in such cases call in an Ojha to treat the patient. They will not kill the cow. They will not touch a Dhobi, Hela, Dom, or Dharkār, nor the younger brother's wife, nor the wife of the senior brother-in-law. They will not call their wives by their name. They drink liquor freely and eat the flesh of goats, sheep, deer, etc., but they will not eat the meat of the cow, crocodile, monkey, horse, jackal, or fowls. During the fortnight in Kuār sacred to the worship of the sainted dead (*pitra paksha*), they abstain from meat. Among themselves they use the salutation *salām*, and address other low castes in the form *Rām ! Rām !* which is also used to the father-in-law of their daughters. Women who assist the men in work are treated fairly well. They eat *kachchi* and *pakki* cooked by Brāhmans. Like all Hindus they eat *pakki* cooked by Halwās or Chhatris, and, in fact, all Vaisyas, except Kalwās, Doms, Dharkārs, and similar menials, eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

11. They are usually employed as day-labourers and ploughmen. A few are tenants without occupancy rights. Some of them have rather an equivocal reputation. They are occasionally burglars and field thieves, and they have been known to combine for road robbery and dacoity. The Bhars of Bhadohi, in the Mirzapur District, are nothing short of a pest to their respectable neighbours at harvest time, and much

of the labour spent on field watching is due to their depredations. Of the Oudh 'Bhars' it is said—"In appearance they resemble low caste Hindus, Koris, and Chamârs; and I have not noticed any Mongolian traits in their physiognomy. They have, however, one striking peculiarity in common with the Thârus—their hatred of the cultivated plain. When land has attained a certain pitch of cultivation they always leave it for some less hospitable spot, and their lives are spent in wandering from jungle to jungle. They commence the struggle with nature, and after the first and most difficult victory over disease and wild beasts, leave it to the Kurmis and Alûis to gather the fruits of their desultory energy. They are very timid, very honest and keen sportsmen, untiring in pursuit, and excellent shots with their long guns. They show the influence of orthodox Hinduism in sparing the nilgâi, but are fond of the flesh of pigs, washing down their feasts with copious draughts of spirits of rice or mahua." They offer goats to Samai, and decapitate chickens before the snake god Kârê Deo. Their worship of Banspati Mâi is more Hindu in its character, and their pure offering of grain and clarified butter are handed over to be eaten by a Brâhman. The worshippers of Banspati Mâi according to the last Census returns amounted to 16,159 persons. Marriages are contracted without the intervention of a Pandit, and with the rites in use among other low castes, such as Koris and Chamârs. With a magnificent assumption of rights not recognised by our law, a bride's father makes over in gift (*sunkalap*) to the bridegroom a small patch of forest to clear and cultivate.²

Distribution of the Bhars according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Bhârnd- wâj.	Kannau- pîya.	Râjbhar.	Others.	TOTAL.
Sahâranpur	7	68	75
Muzaffarnagar	8	118	126
Morâdâbâd	15	15
Pilibh ^t	4	4

¹ Oudh Gazetteer, I., 341.

² On this custom see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 465; and compare Koris, para. 10.

Distribution of the Bhars according to the Census of 1891 — consold.

DISTRICT.	Bhārad- wāj.	Kanau- jya.	Rājbar.	Others.	TOTAL.
Allahābād	5	11	16
Benares	28,141	14,490	42,631
Mirzapur	2,284	858	3,142
Jaunpur	38	16,048	7,732	23,818
Ghāzipur	1,965	58,021	59,986
Bāllia . . .	86	1,258	47,608	9,908	58,860
Gorakhpur . . .	1,498	14	19,094	53,388	73,944
Easti	15,820	6,789	22,609
Azamgarh . . .	2,562	990	25,094	62,711	91,357
Lucknow	8	8
Unāo	7	7
Rāi Bareilly	11	11
Hardoi	4	...	4
Kheri	4	5	9
Faizābād	20,014	6,855	26,869
Gonda	714	9,820	10,538
Bahrāich	2	608	610
Sultānpur	1,041	2,063	3,104
Pattābgarh	1	1	2
TOTAL . . .	4,146	2,300	1,77,858	2,33,441	4,17,745

Bhāradwāj.—(Sanskrit, Bhāradwāja, Bharadwāja, bringing or bearing food; a skylark.)—A small sept of Rājputs. It is a common appellation for Brāhmanical and other *gotras*.

Distribution of the Bhāradwāj Rājputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Sahāranpur . . .	12	Lalitpur . . .	6
Meerut . . .	5	Benares . . .	14
Bulandshahr . . .	10	Ghāzipur . . .	9
Agra . . .	35	Gorakhpur . . .	1
Etah . . .	7	Basti . . .	97
Morādābād . . .	5	Azamgarh . . .	22
Cawnpur . . .	2	Lucknow . . .	35
Bānda . . .	27	Rāe Bareilly . . .	1
Jālaun . . .	11		
		TOTAL .	299

Bharbhūnja.¹—(Sanskrit *bhrashira*, a frying pan; *bhrj*, to fry.)—The caste of grain parchers. They are also known as Bhūj, Bhujua, and Bhurji. As a purely occupational tribe their subdivisions are somewhat confused. At the last Census they were recorded under no less than three hundred and sixty-four sub-castes for the Hindu and forty for the Muhammadan branch. These are of the familiar type. Some illustrate some real or supposed connection with other castes and tribes, such as the Bhadauriya, Chaubé, Chaubān, Kanjar, Kāyasth, Khatri, Lodhi, Rāthaur, Baddhik, Teliyabans, and the like. Others are local subdivisions like Audhbāsi, Bātham (of Srāvasti), Bhatnāgar, Desi, Gangapāri, Hamīrpuriya, Kanauiya, Jaunpuriya, Mathuriya, and so on. The last Census classifies them under the main heads of Bhatnāgar, Jagjādon, Kaithiya, Kāndu, Rāthaur, Saksena, and Sribāstab. Of these, by far the most numerous are the Kanauiyas and Saksenas. The Bhatnāgar are said to derive their name from the old town of

¹ Based on local enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bareilly and Agra, Mr. W. H. O'N. Segrave, Basti, and Munshi Niyas Ahmad, Fatehpur.

Bhatner in the Bikāner State; the Jagjādons assert a connection with the Jādon Rājputs; the Kaithiya with Kāyasths, as the Bhujāris of the Dakkhin say they are Kāyasths from Upper India;¹ the Kāndu is usually treated as a separate caste; the Rāthaur claim descent from the Rājput tribe of that name; the Saksena and the Sribāstab are said to be derived from the two ancient cites of Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District, and Srāvasti or Sahet-Mahet in the Gonda District. But this does not exhaust the list of the sub-divisions. Thus in Agra, they divide themselves into Saksena, Srivāstāyva or Sribāstab, Kāndu, Lakhauiya, Dhankūta or paddy pounders, and Sanksa, who are probably identical with the Saksena. In Mirzapur they are sometimes called Kāndu; but the two tribes are said not to be identical, as the real Kāndus do not parch grain at all, and distinguish themselves from the Bhabbhūnjas by calling themselves Madhesiya Kāndu, or those of "the middle land." Here, however, Bhabbhūnjas regard Kāndus as a sub-division of their caste, and say that they have really three main sub-divisions—Kanauiya, Kāndu, and Dhīmar. Kanauiyas have again two sections, Purbiya or Eastern, and Pachhiwāha or Western, and to these the true Bhabbhūnjas say they belong. These two sections admittedly intermarry; and it is alleged that quite recently, or even occasionally, at present, Dhīmars and Kāndus intermarry. But this is more than doubtful. In Bareilly, again, there are said to be three endogamous sections, Saksena, Kabāriya, and Kandiya, while in Banda the caste is known as Kāndua, Renrkūta, or "pounders of the castor-oil seed," and Tilbhūnja, or "parchers of sesamum," and has three endogamous sections—Teliya, Bhunjua, and Dophansiya, or "two-noose men." It thus appears that the internal organisation of the caste is at present in a state of transition, and that the tendency is to break up into an increasing number of endogamous sections which will probably in time form a number of so-called separate castes.

The sections are, as has been said, almost certainly all endogamous, and they seem generally to practise the ordinary rule of exogamy which bars the line of the paternal and maternal uncle and aunt. Widow marriage by the forms known as *sagāi*, *kāj*, or *kario*, and the levirate prevail.

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI., 60.

8. To the east of the Province they are usually of the Vaishnava sect and worship the Pānchon Pīr and

Religion.

Hardiya Deva or Hardaur Lāla, the cholera godling, whose worshippers at the last Census amounted to 5,034 persons; and worshippers of these two different deities are said usually not to intermarry. In Bareilly their tribal godling is Chanda Kartāl, of whom nothing appears to be known. In Bānda and Fatehpur they are said to be generally Sāktas and worshippers of Devi, Mahādeva, and Mahābīr. The offerings consist of rice, goats, spirits, flowers, and money. Devi and Mahādeva are worshipped on Mondays, and Mahābīr on Tuesdays.

4. They eat goat's meat and the flesh of deer and similar animals, except when they have been regularly initiated or have taken the vow of a

Social customs.

Bhagat. All high castes can eat *pakki* from their hands, and Kahlārs and Nāis will eat *kachchi*. They will not eat *kachchi* cooked by any caste but their own, and will take *pakki* cooked by any caste, Kshatriya, or Vaisya. According to Mr. Hoey¹ there are at Lucknow "three classes of grain parchers. The poorest are who merely parch grain for those who bring it. They receive 10 *paisa* per *ser* on expensive grain and a quarter *paisa* per *ser* on cheap grain. A stage above these are grain-parchers, who buy grain and store it and sell parched grain. These are termed Charbanfarośh. Above both of these is a much more comfortable class who buy rice in the autumn and store it. They make *lāi*, *chiura*, and *khlā*, which are in daily demand, and also in special demand at the Diwālī and on occasion of fairs, etc. There are some Bhurjis especially well-off who have their oven in the immediate neighbourhood of large grain markets. Merchants who import grain treat these very liberally, and think nothing of flinging down a couple of *ser*s of grain and taking in exchange half a *ser* of parched grain (*chabena*).² The work they do, and particularly the heavy part of it, which consists in sweeping up dry leaves for fuel, tends to lower them in popular estimation. It is a favourite curse to wish an enemy that he may some day come to stoke the kiln of a grain-parcher, and a common proverb is *Bharbhūnjā kī larkī keśar hā tūkā*—the grain-parcher's slut with saffron on her forehead."

¹ Monograph on Trades and Manufactures, 76.

Distribution of Bharbhúnjas and their sections according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bhatnagar.	Jagjodan.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujya.	Kandw.	Rathaur.	Sakeena.	Sribastab.	Others.	Musalman.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dón	...	...	...	281	...	...	...	...	72	...	353
Saharanpur	58	...	30	48	...	...	...	...	1,211	1,108	2,450
Muzaffarnagar	451	690	632	18	...	...	...	...	71	188	2,050
Meerut	...	85	2,040	...	...	...	...	...	1,133	126	3,374
Bulandshahr	...	144	...	...	...	...	...	54	520	1,881	2,539
Aligarh	...	...	104	...	...	24	...	...	1,407	670	2,205
Mathura	1	38	...	...	...	6	10	...	510	10	575
Agra	...	41	503	...	...	2	321	102	1,163	328	2,469
Farrukhabad	...	...	4,328	195	...	...	5,169	252	220	113	10,177
Mainpuri	...	...	2,269	365	...	...	2,310	252	76	67	5,239
Etawah	...	...	2,859	128	...	...	1,348	427	181	7	4,950
Etah	...	...	874	...	...	...	1,055	7	273	227	2,436
Bareilly	...	320	288	...	...	...	7,691	...	1,127	...	9,388



Distribution of Bharbhūnjas and their sections by Census of 1891—concl'd.

District	Bhatnagar	Jagjodan	Kathiya.	Kanungya	Kandn.	Rathaur.	Saksena.	Sribastab.	Others.	Musalman.	TOTAL.
Govakhpur	5,816	204	..	..	..	792	..	6,812
Basti	9,845	..	..	..	..	96	..	9,941
Azamgarh	142	..	..	..	..	..	..	142
Tarai .	..	261	..	..	..	..	755	..	43	22	1,081
Lucknow	5,013	159	1,745	3	..	1,266	4	8,190
Unáo	251	3,209	..	400	48	11	3,204	..	7,123
Rao Bareilly	73	10,018	103	584	..	..	1,099	..	11,877
Etapur	3	8,159	147	..	884	2,365	1,801	193	13,562
Hardoi	1,080	30	25	..	13,855	..	426	..	15,416
Kheri	186	4,476	..	..	3,300	1,805	948	87	10,802
Faizabad	8,042	..	..	..	..	222	..	8,262
Gonda	16,539	..	168	..	..	18	41	16,765
Bahráich	10,317	235	1,227	..	2	50	327	12,153

Bharsaiyân, Bharsiyân.—A sept of Râjputs found in Sul-tânpur. The word is a corruption of Bhainsauliyân, or natives of Bhainsaul, whence the sept derives its origin. They are not shown separately in the return of the last Census. They are said to be originally Chauhâns of Mainpuri. Their leader into Oudh was Karan Sinh, who married into a Bais family. One of his successors, Bâz Sinh, was converted to Islâm in the reign of Shîr Shâh, and received the title of Khân-i-Âzam Bhainsauliyân. His descendants are manifestly the Chauhân-i-nau-Muslim, alluded to in the Ain-i-Akbari as occupying the Inhauna Pargana.¹

Bhât.²—(Sanskrit, *bhâtta*, "lord," probably connected with *bhartṛi*, "a cherisher," "nourisher").—A caste of family bards and genealogists. Traditionally they are generally supposed to be descended from the intercourse of a Chihatri and a Brâhman widow. Many legends are told of their origin. Some believe them to be "the modern representatives of the Magadha spoken of in Manu as the offspring of a Vaisya father and a Kshatriya mother. Lassen regards this mythical pedigree as a theoretical explanation of the fact that the professional singers of the praises of great men had come by Manu's time to be regarded a distinct class. Zimmer, on the other hand, seems to take the tradition more seriously and speaks of the Magadha as a "mixed class," out of which, as we learn by numerous passages in later writings, a guild of singers arose, who devoting themselves to the deeds of the Kosala-Videha and Kuru Panchâla may have laid the foundation of the epic poems."³ Sir John Malcolm says⁴:—"According to the fable of their origin, Mahâdeva first created Bhâts to attend to his lion and bull; but the former killing the latter every day gave him infinite vexation and trouble in creating new ones. He, therefore formed the Châran, equally devout as the Bhât, but of bolder spirit, and gave him charge of these favourite animals. From that period no bull was ever destroyed by the lion." By another account.—"Once upon a time Brahma performed a sacrifice when two men appeared and stood before the sacrificial fire. When Mahâkâlî saw that they were

¹ Sul-tânpur Settlement Report, 178.

² Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Pandit Baldeo Prasad, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur; Bâbu Jay Gopal Banerji, Bâb Bareli. Bâbu Mûl Chand, Subordinate Judge, Kônrrh, Mirzapur; Bâbu Sânwâl Dâs, Deputy Collector, Hardoi.

³ Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 93.

⁴ *Central India*, II., 132.

dying of thirst she gave them suck from her breasts, and named them Mâgadha and Sûta. The Mâgadha Brâhmins settled in the East and the Bhât Brâhmins are their descendants; the Sûta settled in the West, and from them sprang the Bhâts." By another legend, when Kâlî destroyed the Râkshasas she formed a figure out of her sweat and breathed life into it, so that it might record her victory.

2. Again, according to Mr Nesfield, the Bhâts are an "offshoot from those secularised Brâhmins who frequented the courts of princes and the camps of warriors, recited their praises in public, and kept records of their genealogies. Such without much variation is the function of the Bhât at the present day. The ancient epic known as the Mahâbhârata speaks of a band of bards and eulogists marching in front of Yudhishtira as he made his progress from the field of Kurukshetra towards Hastinapur. But these very men are spoken of in the same poem as Brâhmins. Nothing could be more natural than that, as time went on, these courtier-priests should have become hereditary bards, who receded from the parent stem and founded a new caste bound together by mutual interests and sympathies. There are several facts in support of this theory, that one of the sub-castes is called Baïam or Biïam Bhât; that some Gaur Brâhmins still act as bards and genealogists; that the Bhât still wears the sacred thread, and is addressed by the lower caste by the Brâhmin title of Mahârâja; and lastly, that by an obvious survival of Brâhmanical titles, the Bhât's employer is called *gajmân*, "he who gives the sacrifice," while the Bhât himself is called *jagwa-jâjak* or *jâchak*, "the priest by whom the sacrifice is performed." To this Mr. Risley objects that "if the Bhâts of the present day are descended solely from a class of degraded Brâhmins, if, in other words, they are a homogeneous offshoot from the priestly class, how do they come to have a number of sections which are certainly not Brâhmanical, and which appear rather to resemble the territorial exogamous groups common among the Râjputs? Brâhmins, however degraded, hold fast to their characteristic series of eponymous sections, and I know of no case in which it can be shown that they have adopted section names of a different type. On the other hand, there is nothing specially improbable in the conjecture that Râjputs may have taken up the profession of bard to the chiefs of their tribe, and thus may, in course of time, have become incorporated in the Bhât caste. It will be

seen that this solution of the difficulty in no way conflicts with Mr. Nesfield's view, but merely modifies it by introducing a second factor into the formation of the caste. Mr. Nesfield regards the Bhâts as a homogeneous functional group thrown off by the Brâhman. I look upon them as a heterogeneous group made up of Brâhman and Râjputs welded together into one caste by virtue of their exercising similar functions. I may add, however, that the inviolability of the Bhât's person, which was admitted in Western India towards the end of the last century, makes rather for Mr. Nesfield's view than for mine; while the theory of Roth and Zimmer, that the first germ of the Brâhman caste is to be sought in the singers of Vedic times, may perhaps be deemed to tell in the same direction." At the last Census the Bhâts were recorded under no less than nine hundred and sixty-eight sub-castes for the Hindu and one hundred and sixty-one for the Muhammadan branch. The analysis of the sub-castes goes on the whole to support Mr. Risley's theory. We find very few distinctively Brâhmanical titles, such as Achârya, Bhâradwâja, Dikshit, Gangaputra, Gaur, Sândilya, Sâraswata, or Saiwariya, but many either of purely local origin, such as Bhatnâgar, Dakkhinwâr, Dulpuriya, Dilliwal, Hamirpuri, Hastinapuri, Jaiswâr, Jaunpuriya, Mathuriya, and the like; and many derived from the names of existing Râjput or other tribes, such as Bargûjar, Bargyân, Bhadauriya, Bundel, Chandrabansi, Kachhwâha, Râthaur, Sakarwâr, and so on.

3. The structural division of the caste is not very well defined.

At the last Census in these Provinces they were recorded under nine main endogamous sub-castes: Bhâradwâja, "the laik, the bringer of food," which is a *gotra* title common to Brâhman and other castes; Biram or Brâhman Bhâts; Dasaundhi, of which there are at least two derivations, either from the Hindi *dasaundh*, or "receiver of tithes," or Sanskrit *dasa-vandika*, in the sense of "reader of the stars," "an astrologer," which is more probable; Gajbhîm; Jâga (Sanskrit *yakshya*, "to be sacrificed or worshipped"); Keliya; Mahâpâtra; Râê; and Râjbhât. Among the sub-castes locally important we find in Bulandshahr the Sapahar; in Mathura, the Barwâr; in Etâwah, the Athsaila and Barwa; in Cawnpur, the Lâhauri; in Allahâbâd, the Gangwâr; in Ghâzipur, the Bandijan; in Azamgarh, the Lakhawariya; in Unâo and Sitapur, the Kanaujiya; in Râê Bareli, the Amlakhiya; in Faizâbâd, the Athsaila, Bandijan

Dakshinwâr, and Gangwâr; in Gonda, the Basoriya; in Sultânpur, the Gadh, Gangwâr, Madhuriya, and Râna; in Partâbgarh, the Gadhwa, Gangwâr, and Jujhaina; in Bârabanki, the Basodhiya. Sir H. M. Elliot has given a very complete account of the Bhâts in these provinces:—"By some tribes the Bhât and Jâga are considered synonymous, but those who pretend to greater accuracy distinguish them by calling the former Birmbhât or Bâdi, and the latter Jâgabhât. The former recite the deeds of ancestors at weddings and other festive occasions; the latter keep the family records, particularly of Râjputs, and are entitled by right of succession to retain the office, whereas the Birmbhâts are hired and paid for the particular occasion. Jâgabhâts pay visits to their constituents every two or three years, and receive perquisites to which they are entitled. After recording all the births which have taken place since their last tour, they are remunerated with rupees, cattle, or clothes, according to the ability of the registering party. Those of the North-Western Râjputs generally reside between the borders of Rajputâna and the Delhi territory. Many also live at Dâranagar on the Ganges, and travel to the remote East to collect their fees; whereas the Birmbhâts are resident in towns and do not emigrate periodically. Both of these classes are held in the same dread for their exactions, which are satisfied by their constituents for fear of being lampooned and paraded in effigy before the other members of the family. Several communities of Bhâts reside in the north of Oudh, and a few are scattered over these Provinces. In Rohilkhand the occupation of Bhâts as bards is frequently usurped by Gaur Brâhmans. There are several sub-divisions of the Bhâts of these provinces, and an attempt is sometimes made, as with many other classes, to reduce them to the definite number of seven, viz.—Athsaila, Mahâpâtra, Keliya, Mainpuriwâla, Jangira, Bhatara, and Dasaundhi. But there are several which are not included under these heads, as Chaurâsi, Gajbhîm, Chungelê, Gujariwâla, Sikatpuriya, Nagauri, Barua, etc., which shows that the classification into seven is not correct.

4. This, however, does not exhaust the sub-divisions of the Bhâts. Thus, in Mirzapur, they are divided into the Jagawa or Jâga, Bârpagwa, "those who wear a large turban," Phulwariya, "of the flower garden," Dasaundhi, Kavirâj, or poets, Kewat kâ Bhât, or those attached to the Kewat caste, and the Musalmân. The Hindu Bhâts have, besides, a number of *gotras* or sections which

are identical with those of Brâhmanas. The Dasaundhi, again, who call themselves Jasaundhi, and derive their name from the Hindi *jas*, Sanskrit, *yasas*, "glory," are sub-divided into Kalsa, Pâtha, and Kulî. In Hardoi they give their sub-divisions as Keliya,^o Mahâpâtia or "prime minister," Athsaila, Bhâradwâja, Mohan-mûrat, Bhatara, Changelê, and Brahmabhât. In Râê Bareli they give their sub-divisions as Banswariya, Mahâpâtia, Keliya, Athsaila, Gajbhîm, Gohorwariwâl, Jaisari kâ Bhatia, Pihâniwâl, Mainpuri kâ Bhâtia, Pitaipuri Rauwa, Senbasiya, Kuttala, Dospuriya, Pipariha, Dukanha, Gangwâr, Bhagtaba, Majhgânwiya, Sirohiwâl, Lahariwâl, Nagariyân, Ghoraha, Nabinagar kâ langota, Gariwapâri, Chaurasiya, and Katiha. These are said to be exogamous sections, many of which are of the territorial type. Among these the Keliya, Mahâpâtia, Banswariya, Athsaila, Gajbhîm, Gohorwariwâl, and Jaisari kâ Bhâtia are regarded as superior and practise a form of hypergamy, taking brides from the other sections, but not giving them their daughters in return. In Bareilly, again, there are two sub-divisions of the Jâga sub-caste who are Muhammadans—the Sârhê tîn ghar or "three and a half houses," and the Das ghar or "ten houses," of whom the former practise hypergamy with the latter.

5. Where there are exogamous sections or *golra* the rule of exogamy follows the standard formula as in Marriage rules. the case of the higher castes; in other places, as in Mirzapur, they will not marry their sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter, brother-in-law's daughter, maternal uncle's daughter, or any member of their own family (*kul*). They can marry a sister-in-law, but not if she be older than the first wife, because, by virtue of the giving away of the bride (*kanyâdân*), the younger sister is considered daughter of the elder. Marriage is carried out in infancy, and it is only when the parents are very poor that the marriage of a daughter is deferred until puberty, and then it involves social discredit. It is usual for parents to give a dowry with the bride, which becomes the property of the bridegroom's parents. Some of the poorer Bhâts take a bride-price; but this is considered disgraceful. This payment, however, appears to be generally given by old men or widowers who would otherwise find it difficult to marry. Widow marriage and the levirate are both prohibited.

6. All the domestic ceremonies are of the orthodox type. When a son is born the *Nandi mukh srâddha* is performed, and in marriage the giving away of the bride (*kanyâddan*) is the binding part of the ceremony. They follow the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance.

7. Those in the Eastern Districts have an absurd story that they were in the service of Chait Singh and were forcibly converted to Islâm by Mr. Jonathan Duncan in revenge for some advice they gave to their master. Others to the West say that they were converted by the orders of Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori. They practise a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan rites. At marriage they call in a Pandit, collect the sacred earth (*matmangar*), erect a marriage shed, give away the bride, and make the pair perform the usual circumambulations. When this is all over they send for the Qâzi, and the *nikâh* is read in the usual Muhammadan fashion. They are a miserable sort of people, who wander about singing at respectable houses. They are more violent and abusive in their language if not suitably rewarded than their Hindu brethren. In Mirzapur they have exogamous sub-divisions, such as Jâga, Kanjiwâl, or those attached to the Kanjar vagrants, Khawâni, Râjbhât, and Bandijan. In some places the title of Jâga seems to be appropriated to them. They circumcise their boys and bury their dead in the usual Muhammadan fashion, but they do a sort of *srâddha* and pay annual worship to the spirits of the dead as Hindus do.

8. The Hindu Bhâts are orthodox Hindus. They are usually either Vaishnavas or Sâktas. In Mirzapur, they worship, in addition to the ordinary gods, of whom the most venerated is Siva in the form of Gauripati, Barê Bîr, Mahâbîr, and Sârda. Barê Bîr, who appears to be the deified ghost of some worthy of the tribe, is honoured by making a plastered square in the court-yard and placing within it a lighted lamp. To Gauripati they offer a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) and some sweets (*laddû*) on the last day of Baisâkh in the family kitchen. Mahâbîr is worshipped on a Tuesday in the month of Baisâkh by painting a representation of him on the back of a brass tray with red lead. This is placed on a stool, and the eldest male or female member of the family bathes, marks his or her forehead with sandal, and offers to the god sweet cakes (*rot*), *laddû* sweetmeats, a Brâhmanical thread (*janmâ*), garlands of flowers, a small loin cloth

(*lango'i*), and a head-dress (*pâta*). Then a fire sacrifice (*hom*) is made, and the articles offered are distributed among the members of the family. By the Census Returns only 381 persons have recorded themselves as exclusive worshippers of Mahâbâr; but this is made up for by 937,493 worshippers of Hanumân. Sârda is a corruption of the name of the goddess Saraswati, the patroness of learning; she is not worshipped in any systematic way, but is invoked whenever they commence their recitations. The Census shows that Saraswati has 5,311 exclusive worshippers. In common with many of the lower castes, they also worship Birtiya on a Wednesday in the month of Aghan. A Chamâr Ojha is selected, and he in front of the house makes a sacrifice of a young pig and some turmeric. The head of the victim is buried deep in the ground, and the rest of the meat is taken by the Ojha, who also gets some uncooked grain and a few pice. Their other domestic ceremonies are done by Sarwariya Brâhmins. In other parts of the Eastern Districts they worship Bhawâni and Devi, particularly when epidemic disease prevails.

9. No account of the Bhâts would be complete without some

The Châraus. reference to the Châraus, though they are
hardly to be found in this part of India. In

Gujarât they are Vaishnavas, and find employment in the Courts of Native Princes or in the families of private gentlemen. Many go from place to place and earn a living by reciting the pedigrees and family achievements of those from whom they ask alms. They wear on their persons a variety of ornaments, such as the earring, necklace, anklets, etc., and by way of arms they carry a sort of sword. They are cultivators and have enough money to lend at interest. There are not a few who stand security for a consideration. They are a warm-blooded and passionate people, as many acts of theirs in past times testify.¹ They had, some years ago, a ready way of extorting money, or the fulfilment of a pledge made to them. If a man refused to keep a promise made to them they brought a girl or an old woman of their family to the house of the defaulter and threatened to kill or did actually kill her. Not a century ago the faith placed in the word of a Bhât was perhaps the only way of obtaining the feeling of security necessary to conduct business of any kind. All men, from the prince to the peasant, trusted to the Bhât or Châraus that he would keep his word or die. Soon after the

¹ For the immunity of the Bhâts compare that of the herald in classical literature—*Iliad*, I., 334, Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, 428; Plato, *Laws*, 941 A.

advent of the British the use of this intermediary collapsed, and the bad points in his character came into relief; but his good work in past times should not be overlooked. By violent threats to kill some member of their family, the Bhâts for a long time, and up to quite recent times, were able to extort money or the accomplishment of any promise made to them; but the late Mahârâja Khandê Râo enacted a special provision of law to meet these cases of extortion, and put an end to them. The Bhât women are as bold, voluble, and ready in retort as the men. When a Bhât woman passes a male caste-fellow on the road, it is the latter who raises a piece of cloth to his face till the woman is out of sight.

10. The Chârâns,¹ as they are called, still fill a large place in the society of Western India, though their services as bards and genealogists are less in demand than they were in the old days. They are, nevertheless, considered, from their calling, to bear a sacred character, and any injury done to one of them will bring down an anathema on the head of the evil-doer, which no amount of penance will wash away. The awe they inspire is as great with the Râjput chief as with the illiterate Bhîl. They are also the principal carriers of the country, and as such enjoy immunity from taxation, to which the rest of the community have to submit. When the Chârân cannot obtain what he wants, or considers he has been unjustly dealt with, he will resort to what is known as *tragya*, or self-sacrifice, by cutting or wounding himself, or perhaps taking the life of some member of his family, in order that the blood of the victim may rest upon the head of his oppressor; and so great is the dread inspired by even the mere threat of carrying out this act that a ready acquiescence is generally given to all demands. The death of a Chârân by his own hands would be considered by the outside world a sort of excommunication of the chief, against which the latter would find it almost hopeless to contend. Holding such a formidable weapon over the heads of all alike, high or low, the Chârân becomes overbearing and avaricious, and consequently they are a class difficult to manage. Members of the tribe are to be found travelling over the length and breadth of India, with their droves of pack-bullocks, by means of which, notwithstanding the increased mileage of railways of late years, a great part of the enormous trade of that vast continent is still transported to its

¹ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, July 1893.

destination. It might have been thought that the railway would have materially reduced their profits, and although it has curtailed the sphere of their operations, it has obliged them to open up fresh lines of traffic, and to become feeders to the various lines of railway. Salt, grain, and seeds form the principal articles of transport by means of their caravans. The loads are carried in strong thick bags thrown across the backs of the bullocks without any rope or strap to fasten them, but merely balanced on them, and after the day's march is over the bags are piled in stacks, around which the Nâik, his family, and companions keep guard during the night, although the sacred calling of tribe and the dread of their anathema are quite sufficient to insure them immunity from all plunderers. There is no more picturesque sight than one of these large caravans wending its way along the high road. The men and women are invariably on foot and distributed along the drove of bullocks, re-loading a beast which may have thrown his pack, or balancing and adjusting another as the case may be. The men with their large, loosely-folded turbans, white flowing robes, many of them with necklaces, generally of gold, about their person, form a pleasing contrast to the women in their brightly-coloured garments, with large conical caps adorned with gold and silver chains and small bells, from which is pendant a light richly-coloured scarf hanging gracefully over the shoulders. Tall and upright in figure, lithe and active, often with pleasing features and not an over-dark skin, her petticoat of one colour, her bodice of another, but somewhat brighter, her jet-black hair bound up and entwined with gold and silver coins, her arms encased from wrist to elbow in bracelets of white and coloured ivory, bangles of silver on her ankles, and the high conical cap profusely ornamented on her head, the matron presents a picture which once seen is not easily forgotten. As bard of the chief, the Châran occupies an exalted position, and is one of the retainers always about his person, and frequently the medium of communication on difficult and delicate missions, such as an alliance in marriage, when he is the bearer of the cocoanut, which is the emblem sent on such occasions. He used invariably to accompany him in all his expeditions against his enemies, in order that he might transcribe in glowing verse the deeds of prowess done by his chief and the clan. The genealogy of the family is in his keeping, and he can recount from memory all the stirring events connected with the history of the house, which have been orally handed down to him by his father

before him. Like the Scald of the ancient Norseman, the bard delights in narrating in open darbâr when called upon by his lord, some inspiring themes connected with the fortunes of the family. It is then, surrounded by an admiring and sympathetic audience, that he will launch out in the flowery language of his country, and with magical effect stir the hearts of his listeners with the thrilling account of how their ancestors fought in defence of their homes and their race, and fell covered with wounds, performing deeds that have left them deathless names, and how by emulating their example and treading in their footsteps they will make resplendent the blood of their ancient line. All this has in these days become utterly unreal, but the respect with which the bard is regarded when he recalls the most stirring memories of the race is not matter for surprise.

11. In social position the Bhât ranks fairly high, and is as particular in eating and drinking as a Brâhman: but he bears an indifferent reputation for volubility and abusive language. One proverb about them is,—

Bhât, Bhatiyâri, Beswa, tînon jât kujât :
Âlê kâ âdar karen ; jât na pûchhen bât.

“The bard, the inn-keeper, and the harlot are a bad lot : when you come they are civil ; when you go they care nothing.”

Banyak dâta, Thakurak hîn,
Baidaka pût byâdh na chînh,
Bhôtak ckup, beswak mail,
Kaken Ghâgh—pânchon ghar gail,

“A generous Banya, a mean Râjput, a physician's son who cannot diagnose disease, a silent Bhât, and an unclean courtesan—all five, says Ghâgh, are on the road to ruin.”

Distribution of Bháts according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bharadwaj	Buam	Dasavandhi.	Gajbhini	Jaga	Keliya.	Mahaputra.	Baá	Rajbhat	Others	Muhammads	Total
Debra Dán .	.	211	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	119	40	370
Saháraspur .	.	431	..	..	117	.	.	..	80	1,003	227	1,858
Muzaffarnagar .	.	311	..	..	549	..	..	..	..	214	113	1,793
Meerut .	.	1,771	..	..	30	..	..	58	..	382	364	2,875
Bulandshahr .	.	1,173	..	..	62	100	..	1	.	2,480	223	4,039
Aligarh .	.	799	..	..	..	..	14	203	..	2,193	50	3,259
Mathura .	.	237	907	29	20	43	.	347	8	386	2	1,979
Agra .	.	2,151	13	..	10	20	..	14	..	811	8	3,032
Farrukhábád .	.	640	7	17	175	877	..	8	2	455	189	2,375
Mainpuri .	.	1,263	15	..	44	42	..	23	..	796	54	2,261
Etawah .	.	637	35	101	21	852	23	..	..	1,601	130	3,414
Etah .	.	2,313	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	625	46	2,987

Bareilly	...	...	832	...	...	90	14	...	44	...	49	154	1,180
Bijnor	...	...	447	...	...	203	...	...	...	...	210	121	986
Budoun	...	...	1,133	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	252	213	1,617
Moradabad	...	...	396	...	...	66	...	...	...	...	739	241	1,444
Shahjahanpur	...	...	1,224	3	...	...	137	...	7	49	295	196	1,940
Pilibhit	...	...	396	...	...	2	15	...	...	...	31	89	535
Cawnpur	...	...	367	11	13	58	3,883	8	4	...	2,421	121	6,886
Fatehpur	...	...	15	57	109	1	1,290	109	...	5	2,030	138	3,764
Banda	...	...	85	137	197	...	1,542	20	...	25	949	16	2,961
Hemirpur	...	...	254	78	69	12	1,384	42	...	...	1,079	...	2,926
Allahabad	...	...	21	83	24	2	218	6	18	911	3,947	1,592	6,847
Jhansi	...	...	416	91	13	3	33	...	...	...	809	...	1,420
Jalaun	...	...	979	125	58	...	114	...	...	...	702	3	1,985
Lalitpur	...	...	344	24	29	3	12	26	...	...	469	2	909
Benares	...	...	...	392	...	2	8	...	...	713	848	479	2,442
Mirzapur	...	...	...	244	...	...	3	...	...	1,397	322	657	2,623
Jaunpur	...	...	...	2,177	...	...	185	...	...	1,363	558	1,383	5,666

Distribution of Bhts according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Bharadwaj.	Biram.	Tasandhi.	Gajhin.	Jage.	Kahya.	Mahapatra.	Ras.	Rajbhat.	Others.	Muhammedans.	TOTAL
Ghazipur	53	...	65	...	...	..	..	..	873	500	1,086	2,637
Ballia	...	...	1	..	...	...	..	..	272	179	832	1,284
Gorakhpur	9	7	1,316	...	...	...	..	19	1,583	1,115	2,146	6,195
Basti	245	559	1,932	47	...	..	..	2	...	32	2,974	5,841
Azamgarh	6	...	153	...	...	..	..	7	756	1,354	1,631	3,907
Tardi	...	1	...	...	2	..	..	7	..	279	20	309
Lucknow	...	53	27	...	...	1,523	38	...	...	649	577	2,567
Unao	19	266	...	46	...	2,854	94	...	..	2,224	657	6,180
Bah Barril	38	11	46	9	...	1,230	348	10	31	3,111	165	4,999
Sitapur	4	162	19	...	...	1,817	4	...	..	1,312	2,152	5,470
Hardoi	...	1,257	...	...	..	2,185	...	2	...	128	900	4,472
Kheri	...	869	23	...	..	590	...	22	...	293	1,046	2,842
Faizabad	7	...	64	...	...	103	113	...	1,067	3,696	2,043	7,080

Bhathiyāra,¹—(Sanskrit, *Bhṛīkṣtakāra*, “a preparer of roasted and fried meat”).—The keepers of inns and cooking-houses and sellers of tobacco. Their business is the entertainment of travellers, and their functions thus trench on the occupations of the baker (*nānbāi*); the preparer and seller of fried meat (*kabāb farosh*), and the tobaccoist (*tambākuwāla*). They trace their origin to Salīm Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, who reigned between 1545 and 1552 A. D., and one tradition makes them out to be the descendants of members of the household establishments of Shīr Shāh and Salīm Shāh, who, after the overthrow of their masters by Humāyun, were doomed to servitude as attendants on travellers. The real name of Salīm Shāh was Jalāl or Islām Shāh, and both he and his father still live in the traditions of the people. One proverb about them is *Kya legāya Shīr Shāh? Kya legāya Salīm Shāh?*—“In spite of their greatness what has Shīr Shāh or Salīm Shāh taken with him to the grave?” Another is *Shīr Shāh ki dārchī barī yā Salīm Shāh ki?*—“Which had the longest beard, Shīr Shāh or Salīm Shāh?” *i. e.*, “What is the use of arguing over trifles?” The establishment of inns (*sarāi*) goes, however, back as far as the reign of Chandra Gupta. The traveller Terry writes:—“In this kingdom there are no Innes to entertain travellers; only in great Towns and Cities are faive houses built for their receipt, where any passenger may have roome freely, but must bring with him his Bedding, his Cooke and other necessaries.”²

2. In memory of their traditional origin they have two sub-divisions known as the Shīrshāhi and Salīmshāhi, who are distinguished by the women of the former wearing petticoats and the latter drawers. Another tradition, which is apparently based merely on the similarity of name, makes them out to be in some way connected with the Bhatti tribe. In the east of the Province there are two sub-divisions—**Bhathiyāra** and **Hariyāra**—which differ only in this, that the women of the former wear metal bangles (*mātki*), and the latter those made of glass or lac. The Census Returns classify them under fifty-two clans, none of which are of much local importance, and display a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan names, such as **Bahlīm**,

¹ Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and notes by Mr. E. Rose, C. S., Collector of Farrukhābād, and Munshi Chhoté Lāl, Archaeological Survey, Lucknow.

² Purchas, II, 1457, quoted in *Hobson Jobson*, s. v. *Serai*.

Bhîl, Chauhân, Chiryamâr, Jalkhatri, Madariya, Mukeri, Sadiqi, Nânâi, Shirâzi, and Sulaimâni.

3. They profess to follow the ordinary Muhammadan laws of marriage, of which the *nikâh* is the binding portion.

Marriage rules.

The two divisions, Salimshâhi and Shirshâhi, are said to be endogamous, because the women of the latter bear an indifferent reputation; in fact it is alleged that they are prostituted both before and after marriage. Dr. Buchanan¹ says:—"Many of their women, but by no means the greater part, refuse no favour to a liberal customer;" and Forster writes²:—"The stationary tenants of the srauec, many of them women, and some of them very pretty, approach the traveller on his entrance, and in alluring language describe to him the varied excellencies of their several lodgings." The levirate prevails, but is not compulsory on the widow. They follow the usual Muhammadan rules of divorce and inheritance.

4. They are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect. To the east of the Province they reverence Ghâzi Miyân and the Pânchon Pir, to whom sweetmeats and garlands of flowers are offered on the first Sunday in the month of Jeth. They bury their dead and offer to the spirits of deceased ancestors vermicelli (*siwaiyân*), and bread on the 'Id and the *dalwa* sweetmeat on the Shab-i-barat. In former times, it is said, they used to consult Brâhmans in fixing an auspicious day for marriages—a practice which appears now to be abandoned. They do the usual third day (*tîya*) and fortieth day (*chêhlam*) ceremony for the repose of the spirits of the dead.

5. Besides their special business of entertaining travellers they also catch fish, and are hence in the west of the Province, known as Mahigîr or "fishcatcher."

Occupation.

Their women are known as Mehtarâni, a sort of mock honorific title. Of the Grand Trunk Road Dr. Buchanan writes³:—"On the great road more attention is shown to the real convenience of travellers than in any part of India which I have yet visited; and regular inns (*sarâi*, *bhathiyârkhâna*) are kept at convenient distances. Each inn consists of a number of distinct chambers, which are let by the night to any traveller or company, eight or ten persons

¹ *Eastern India*, II., 289.

² *Travels*, I., 86, *Hobson Jobson*, 615.

³ *Eastern India*, loc. cit.

travelling together often occupying one chamber. The chamber usually consists of a wretched straw hut, seven or eight cubits long and five or six wide, and is in general totally destitute of furniture; a few only afford a little straw or a mat to sleep on; but some kept by obliging nymphs have bedsteads, where favourites are received. The Bhathiyāras or keepers are low Muhammadans, such attention to strangers being incompatible with Hindu reserve. Each keeper, according to his means, has a number of chambers, which are usually disposed in a row (*alang*); and in most inns are several keepers whose rows of chambers surround squares or wide lanes, in which the cattle of carriages of the travellers stand. Hindus pay from one to two pice a night for each chamber, and Muhammadans pay double because the Bhathiyārin cooks for them. The keeper generally retails fire-wood, tobacco, and the charcoal balls used in smoking, and purchases for his guests whatever other article they want. Some of them also retail earthen ware and shoes. Hindus of the highest rank can sleep in such places, when no pure person will give them accommodation; but they, of course, can receive little or no assistance from the keeper, who cannot bring water that his guest will use, nor can the Brāhman cook in the inn. He must go to some pure place, and for that purpose usually selects the side of a river which in this country is the most common abode of *Cloacina*." In these inns the Bhathiyāra women are said often to act as go-betweens (*saparda*). Some add to their income by keeping pony or bullock carts (*ekka*, *bakli*).

Distribution of the Bhathiyāras according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Dera Dûn . . .	10	Mathura . . .	658
Sahāranpur . . .	280	Agra . . .	1,688
Muzaffarnagar . . .	396	Farrukhābād . . .	851
Meerut . . .	802	Mainpuri . . .	1,196
Bulandshahr . . .	884	Etāwah . . .	947
Aligarh . . .	1,984		

Distribution of the Bhāthiyāras according to the Census of 1891—conold.

DISTRICT.	Number	DISTRICT.	Number.
Etah	1,244	Ballia	78
Bareilly	4,488	Gorakhpur	112
Bijnor	729	Basti	160
Budāun	2,607	Azamgarh	401
Morādābād	1,147	Taīā	51
Shāhjahānpur	1,601	Lucknow	548
Pilibhit	660	Unāo	311
Cawnpur	750	Rāe Bareilly	136
Fatehpur	634	Sitapur	215
Pānda	56	Hardoi	493
Hamīrpur	57	Kherr	126
Allahābād	1,542	Faizālād	228
Jhānsi	24	Gonda	135
Jālaun	38	Bahraich	84
Benares	793	Sultānpur	284
Morzapur	248	Partālgarh	34
Jaunpur	450	Barābanki	404
Ghāzipur	254		
		TOTAL	30,658

Bhatiya.¹ A tribe of money-dealers and traders found in these Provinces only in Mathura. Of those in the Panjāb Mr. Ibbetson writes :²—"The Bhatiyas are a class of Rājputs, originally coming from Bhatner, Jaysalmer, and the Rajputāna Desert, who

¹ Entirely based on a note by Munshi Atma Rām, Head Master, High School, Mathura.

² *Panjāb Ethnography*, 297.

have taken to domestic pursuits. The name would seem to show that they were Bhâtis (called Bhatti in the Panjâb); but be that as it may, their Râjput origin seems to be unquestioned. They are numerous in Sindh and Gujarât, where they appear to form the leading mercantile element, and to hold the place which the Aroras occupy higher up the Indus. They have spread into the Panjâb along the lower valleys of the Indus and Sutlej and up the whole length of the Chenâb as high as its debouchure into the plains, being indeed most numerous in Siâlkot and Gujarât. They stand distinctively below the Khatri, and perhaps below the Aroia, and are for the most part engaged in petty shop-keeping, though the Bhatiyas of Dehra Ismail Khân are described as belonging to a widely-spread and enterprising mercantile community. They are often supposed to be Khatrie, and in Jahlam they are said to follow the Khatri divisions of Bhatti, Bunjâhi, Dhânghar, Chânzâti, etc. They are very strict Hindus, far more so than the other trading classes of the Western Panjâb; and eschew meat and liquor. They do not practise widow-marriage."

2. The Bhatiyas of Mathura claim to be descended from a personage called Bhâti Sinh, from whom they take their name. He was the founder of the city and kingdom of Jaysalmer. It is related that the Yaduvansis, or descendants of Yadu, engaged in a deadly intestine quarrel, and of them only two escaped the general destruction—Odhu and Bajarnâbh. The latter lived at the time at the house of his maternal grandfather, Râja Bânâsura. In return for the services which Sri Krishna, himself a Yaduvansi, had once rendered to Râja Parikshit, in protecting him while still in his mother's womb, the latter brought Bajarnâbh from Bânâsura's house and delivered to him the kingdom of Mathura and Indraprastha. Bajarnâbh ruled wisely and protected his subjects, and raised a temple in honor of Sri Krishna at Dwârîka. Eighty of his successors ruled in succession at Mathura; but during the reign of the last, Râja Jay Sinh, Râja Ajaypâl of Biyâna invaded Mathura, and, in the battle which ensued, Jay Sinh was killed, and his three sons, Bijaypâl, Ajây Râj, and Brjay Râj, fled to Karauli. Bijaypâl, the eldest of the three, gained the kingdom of Karauli, but he quarrelled with his brothers, and they retired to a forest in the neighbourhood of Karauli, where they devoted themselves to the worship of Ambâmâna Devi. At the end of a year of devotion, when they failed to propitiate the goddess

they determined to gain her favour by offering their heads to her in a furnace (*bhāṭṭi*). Pleased with this final act of piety the deity appeared to them and desired them to crave a boon from her. They answered that as Kshatriyas they needed a kingdom. Whereupon the Devi ordered Ajay Rāj to go towards the West and found a kingdom in the Rajputāna Desert, and henceforth to call himself Bhāṭi Sinh, as he had been saved from the burning fiery furnace. He followed her orders and founded the kingdom of Jaysalmer, and there established his tribe under the name of Bhattis or Bhatiyas.

3. Here it may be noted that the Jaysalmer tradition is different from this.¹ "Piyāg or Allahābād was the cradle of the race, after which Mathura remained the seat of the Yaduvansī power for a long period. On the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the deified leader of the Jādons, from whom the Bhāṭṭi Rājputs claim descent, the tribe became dispersed; many of them abandoned Hindustān, among them two of the sons of Kṛṣṇa, who proceeded northward along the Indus, and settled there. Some time after this one of their descendants being defeated and killed in a battle, the tribe was driven southward into the Panjāb, where Śālivāhana, son of Gaj, founded a town called after his name, and conquered the whole region. His grandson was named Bhāṭṭi; he was a great warrior and conquered many of the neighbouring princes, and from him the patronymic was changed, and the tribe was henceforth distinguished by his name. Shortly after this the tribe was again driven southward by the King of Ghazni, and crossing the Sutlej found refuge in the Indian Desert, which was henceforth to be their home. This traditional account may represent in outline the early migrations of the Bhatti tribe, which may be supposed to have entered India from the north-west under heroic leaders now deified as the sons of Kṛṣṇa, and to have settled for some time in the Panjāb. One of the grand expeditions of Mahmūd of Ghazni was against the city of Bhattia, also called Bhera, which place is now said to have been on the left bank of the Jāhluir, opposite the Salt Range. Mr. E. Thomas considers that the four last Hindu Kings of Kabul, before the Ghaznavis, may have been Bhatiya Rājputs."

4. The Mathura story runs that when the Bhatiyas left their Western home and came to Mathura they had considerable difficulty in finding *an* internal organisation.

¹ *Rajputana Gazetteer*, II., 170.

ces for their children, because having by this time taken to trade the Râjputs of the neighbourhood were unwilling to intermarry with them. They accordingly convened a meeting of the caste at Multân, and there consulted learned Brâhmins and the books of the law, and it was after great discussion decided that a man might marry within his own tribe in a family removed from himself by forty-nine degrees, and that the families thus removed should each form a *nukh* or exogamous group. These *nukhs* were designated after some person, village, or occupation, such as the *nukh* Râêhariya was named after Râê Hari Singh; Râê Gajariya after the village Gajariya, and Râê Tâmbol after a Tâmboli or seller of betel. This story describes in a very interesting way the manner in which new exogamous and endogamous groups are formed.

5. The following are the names of the Mathura *gotras* with the *nukhs* which each includes:—

(1) Parâsara *gotra* including twenty-three *nukhs*:—Râê Gajariya; Râê Panchloriya; Râê Palîja; Râê Gagla; Râê Sarâki; Râê Soni; Râê Suphla; Râê Jiya; Râê Mogaya; Râê Ghaga; Râê Rîka; Râê Jaydhan; Râê Korhaya; Râê Kova; Râê Rariya; Râê Kajariya; Râê Sijlalla; Râê Jiyâla; Râê Malan; Râê Dhava; Râê Dhîran; Râê Jagta; Râê Nisât.

(2) Sanras *gotra* containing eleven *nukhs* as follows:—Râê Dutaya; Râê Jabla; Râê Nâgobabla; Râê Suâra; Râê Dhawan; Râê Danda; Râê Dhaga; Râê Kandhiya; Râê Udesi; Râê Bâdhûcha; Râê Balâyê.

(3) Bharadwâj *gotra* with the following eighteen *nukhs*:—Râê Hariya; Râê Padamshi; Râê Maidaya; Râê Chandan; Râê Khiyâra; Râê Thula; Râê Sodhiya; Râê Bora; Râê Mochha; Râê Tâmbol; Râê Lakbanbanta; Râê Dhakkar; Râê Bhudariya; Râê Mota; Râê Anghar; Râê Dhadhâl; Râê Degchanda; Râê Asar.

(4) Sudharvans *gotra* with the following eight *nukhs*:—Râê Sapta; Râê Chhachhaiya; Râê Nagara; Râê Gâthababla; Râê Parmala; Râê Potha; Râê Ponrdhagga; Râê Mathura.

(5) Madhobadhas *gotra* including the following eleven *nukhs*:—Râê Ved; Râê Surya; Râê Gugalgandhi; Râê Nâêgandhi; Râê Panchal; Râê Phurâsgândhi; Râê Parêgândhi; Râê Jujargândhi; Râê Praima; Râê Bibal; Râê Povar.

(6) Devdâs *gotra* including the following nine *nukhs*:—Râê Ramaiya; Râê Pawâr; Râê Râja; Râê Parijiya; Râê Kapûr; Râê Gurugulâb; Râê Dhâdhar; Râê Kartari; Râê Kukaur.

(7) *Rishivans gotra* consisting of the following four *nukhs* :—
Râê Multâni ; Râê Chamuja ; Râê Daiya ; Râê Karangona.

6. The Census Returns supply them with a set of sections most of which are of the Banya type, such as Agaiwâla, Belwâr, Bhâlê, Bhorâr, Bhudi, Bohra, Ganr, Jaysalmer, Kain, Madkul, Maheswari, Mârwâli, Osâl, Palliwâl, Râhtu, Sahasri.

7. Marriages may take place between members of the same *gotra*, but not of the same *nukh*. There is

Marriage rules

no exact formula of exogamy ; but a man cannot marry among his near relations on the father's or mother's side, and the same rule applies to women. Differences of religion, provided both parties are followers of some form of Hinduism, and changes of occupation, are not a bar to intermarriage ; but differences of local or geographical position are a bar. Thus intermarriages between Bhatiyas of Bombay, Kachh, and Gujârât, and those of the Panjâb, Sindh, and the North-Western Provinces, are not permitted. Thus Bhatiyas may be divided into the following two endogamous groups based on geographical position :—The first group consists of Kâchhis, Hâlâis, Pujas, Kathîwâris, Gujârâtis and Bhatiyas of Dhârângânw. The second group consists of Bhatiyas of Jaysalmer, Sindh, the Panjâb and the North-Western Provinces. As a rule no Bhatiya can take a second wife in the lifetime of the first, unless she be barren or unfaithful to her husband, in which case she will be expelled from caste. In no case can the number exceed two, and that limit is seldom reached. When a Bhatiya happens to have two wives they live under the same roof and enjoy the same privileges in every respect. In the case of girls marriage must be performed before the age of twelve. there is no time fixed in the case of males. Marriage is arranged by the friends in both sides, and there are no marriage brokers. The children of both marriages, should a man have two wives, rank equally for purposes of inheritance. Widow marriage is not allowed, and the offspring of an illicit connection are not admitted into the caste, and do not rank as heirs to the estate of their father. An unfaithful wife is excommunicated, and so is a man who openly keeps a concubine.

8. At the betrothal the father of the girl sends what is called the

Marriage ceremonies.

sagan, consisting of one rupee, a cocoanut, and some coarse sugar, for the boy, which is given to him in the presence of the brethren, who are invited to be in attendance, and the betrothal is thus complete. The ceremony

presupposes the mutual consent of the parents of the parties. Betrothal is generally not reversible, and is not annulled except on the discovery of some very serious physical defect in either bride or bridegroom, and, if annulled, the expenses are repaid by the party breaking the engagement, though there is no distinct rule on the subject. Betrothal may take place any time before marriage. The marriage ceremony is of the orthodox type, and the binding part of it is the giving away of the bride (*kanyadān*) and the perambulation (*pheron phirna*) round the sacred fire. The marriage is complete and irreversible when the fourth circuit is finished. Pokharné Brāhmins act as priests at marriage and other ceremonies.

9. The chief occupation of the Bhatiyas is money-lending, and to this they add trade of all kinds—agriculture, landholding, and Government service.

Occupation

Many of them go on expeditions to Arabia, Kābul, Bokhāra, and other distant places on business. Many in Bombay carry on trade with Zanzibar, Java, and the Malay Peninsula. Their religion continues to be mainly Vedic, but some have become followers of Vallabhachārya. The Bhatiyas of these Provinces in appearance, customs, and dress, strongly resemble Khatris, but between the two castes there seems to be no real connection.

Distribution of the Bhatiyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT					Number.
Mathura	.	.	.	.	284
Cawnpur	.	.	.	.	1
TOTAL					285

Bhatti—(Sanskrit, *bhātta*, "lord").—A Rajput sept of the Panjāb branch. Mr. Ibbetson¹ writes—"Bhatti, the Panjāb form of the Rajputāna word Bhāti, is the title of the great modern representatives of the ancient Yāduvansī Royal Rājput family, descendants of Kṛishna, and therefore of Lunar race. Their traditions tell that in very ancient times they were driven across the Indus, but that, returning, they dispossessed the Langah, Joya, and others of the country south of the Lower Sutlej, some seven centuries ago, and

¹ *Panjāb Ethnography*, section 448.

founded Jaysalmer. This State they still hold, though their territory has been greatly circumscribed since the advent of the Râthaur; but they still form a large proportion of the Râjput subjects of the Râthaur Râjas of Bikâner. At one time their possessions in those parts included the whole of Sirsa and the adjoining portions of Hissâr and the tract still known as Bhatiyâna. The story current in Hissâr is that Bhatti, the leader under whom the Bhattis recrossed the Indus, had two sons, Dûsal and Jaysal, of whom the latter founded Jaysalmer, while the former settled in Bhatiyâna. From Dûsal sprang the Sidhu and Barâr Jât tribes, while his grandson Rajpâl was the ancestor of the Wattu. According to General Cunningham the Bhattis originally held the Salt Range Tract and Kashmîr, their capital being Gajnipur, or the site of the modern Kâwalpindi, but about the second century before Christ they were driven across the Jahlam by the Indo-Scythians, and their leader, the Râja Rasâlu, of Panjâb tradition, founded Siâlkot. The invaders, however, followed them up, and dispersed them and drove them to take refuge in the country south of the Satlaj, though their rule in the Kashmîr valley remained unbroken till 1339 A. D.

2. "The Bhatti is still by far the largest and most widely distributed of the Râjput tribes of the Panjâb. It is found in immense numbers along the lower Satlaj and Indus, though on the former often, and on the latter always classed as Jât. It is hardly less numerous on the Chanâb, the Upper Satlaj, and on the Biyâs; it is naturally strong in Bhatiyâna; there is a large colony in the Delhi District, while it is perhaps most numerous of all in the seats of its ancient power—in Siâlkot, Gujarât, and the Salt Range country. And if we reckon as Bhatti the Sidhu and Barâr Jâts of the Mâlwa, we shall leave no portion of the Panjâb in which a large Bhatti population is not to be found.

3. "Yet it is strange if the Bhatti did hold so large a portion of the Panjâb, as General Cunningham alleges, how almost universally they trace their origin to Bhatner in Bhatiyâna, or at least to its neighbourhood. Either they were expelled wholly from the Upper Panjâb, and have since returned to their ancient seats, or else the glory of their later has overshadowed that of their earlier dynasties, and Bhatner and Bhatiyâna have become the city and country of the Bhatti from which all good Bhatti trace their origin. The subject population of Bikâner is largely composed of Bhatti, while Jaysalmer is a Bhatti State; and it seems impossible that if

the Bhatti of the higher Satlaj are immigrants, and not the descendants of the old Bhatti who escaped expulsion, they should not have come largely from both these States, and moreover, should not have followed the river valleys in their advance. Yet the tradition almost always skips all intermediate steps, and carries as straight back to that ancient city of Bhatner on the banks of the long, dry Ghaggar, in the Bikâner territory bordering on Sirsa. The Wattu Bhatti of Montgomery, while tracing their origin from Râja Sâlivâhana, the father of Raja Rasâlu of Siâlkot, say that their more immediate ancestors came from Bhatner; the Nûn Bhatti of Multân trace their origin to the Delhi country, while the Bhatti of Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Gujrânwâla, Siâlkot, Jahlam, and Pindi, all look back to Bhatner as the home of their ancestors. It is possible either that Bhatner is used merely as a traditional expression, or that when the Ghaggar dried up, or the Râthaur conquered Bikâner, the Bhatti were driven to find new homes in the plains of the Punjâb. Indeed, Mr. Wilson states that in Sirsa or the old Bhatiyâna, the term Bhatti is commonly applied to any Musalmân Jât or Râjput from the direction of the Satlaj as a generic term almost synonymous with Rath or Pachhâda.²

4. In these Provinces¹ they are also known as Jaiswâr. They Bhattis of these Provin- claim to be Jâdons who returned from ces. beyond the Indus in the seventh or eighth century. A large number of them became Muhammadans in the time of Qutb-ud-dîn and Ala-ud-dîn. They say they came to Buland-shahr under Kansal, or as others say, Deo and Kârê, in the time of Prithivi Râja, having ejected the Meos. They are divided into two clans—Bhatti and Jaiswâr. The former is the superior of the two, the latter having intermarried with spurious Râjputs. A majority of the clan are now reckoned as Gûjars. Another story is that they are descended from Râja Dalîp, son of Jaswant Rao of Nâna Mau, near Bithûr. He had two sons, Bhatti and Rânghar; their descendants settled in Bhatiyâna; the branch converted to Islâm was called Rânghar. The national dress is not trousers and waist cloth, but a broad sheet of coarse cloth, plain or checked, which reaches from the neck to the ankle and is tied at the waist. The wife of Tuglaq Shâh and mother of Fîroz Shâh was a Bhatti woman. The

¹ Râja Lachman Singh, *Bulandshahr Memo* : 182.

Muhammadian Bhattis along the Kâli Nadi in the Etah District are a turbulent, idle set, much dreaded by their neighbours.

5. In the Upper Duâb they are reported to give brides to the Chauhân, Gahlot, Tomar, Panwâr, Kachhwâha, and other high class Râjputs, and to marry their sons in the Bargujar, Chauhân, Kachhwâha, Pundir, and other high and middle class septs.

Distribution of the Bhatti Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Hindus	Muhamma- dians.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn . . . . .	...	39	39
Sahâranpur	37	443	480
Muzaffarnagar	80	343	423
Meerut	180	..	180
Bulandshahr	3,482	2,455	5,937
Aligarh	5	576	581
Mathura . . . . .	...	49	49
Agra . . . . .	.	1	1
Farrukhâbâd	10	1,177	1,187
Mainpuri . . . . .	...	8	8
Etah	80	2,671	2,751
Bareilly . . . . .	...	3,762	3,762
Budâun	587	...	587
Morâdâbâd . . . . .	...	514	514
Shâhjahanpur	33	..	33
Cawnpur . . . . .	...	25	25
Alisahâbâd . . . . .	...	41	41
Ghâzipur . . . . .	...	854	854
Gorakhpur	125	66	191
Azamgarh . . . . .	...	25	25
Tarâi . . . . .	...	86	86

Distribution of the Bhatti Rajputs according to the Census of 1891—continued.

DISTRICT.	Hindus.	Muhamma- dans.	TOTAL.
Lucknow	75	75
Unão	112	112
Sitapur	10	10
Hardoi	198	198
Kher	195	195
Faizâbâd	2	2
Gonda	34	34
Bahraich	267	267
Sultânpur	137	137
Patâbgarh	1,652	1,652
Bârabanki	1,353	1,353
TOTAL	4,619	17,170	21,789

Bhikha Sâhib.—A sect among the Râjputs of Ballia, of which the following account is given in the *District Gazetteer*:—"There was a devotee in Delhi whose name was Shâh Muhammad Yâri. In his time a certain zamîndâr of Bhukura, named Mardan Sinh, was arrested for default of payment of revenue, and sent by the Viceroy (Sûbahdâr) to Delhi, where he was imprisoned. A servant, who had attended Mohan Sinh, paid visits in his leisure hours to Muhammad Yâri Shâh. One day the devotee enquired what he was and where he lived. On this the servant narrated the circumstances of his master's imprisonment and of his own presence there.

'Go and tell your master,' said the devotee, 'that he will be set free to-morrow by the order of the Minister of State, and that he should then present himself to me?' Mardan Sinh was actually released the next day, and, as directed, attended on Muhammad Yâri Shâh. After several days' attendance and devotion, the devotee expressed himself satisfied, and directed Mardan Sinh to proceed to his own country, and there worship the Âtma, and show mercy to the poor and hungry.

2. He also gave him a *selî* or necklace of black silk, worn as a distinguishing mark by the Chief, who sits on the cushion (*gadâi*) when he has occasion to go to his disciples. Mardan Sinh was further instructed by Muhammad Yârî Shâh to observe the following ceremony. At the time of making a disciple, a *kanthî*, or sacred garland, is to be put round his neck, and the disciple is enjoined to repeat constantly the invocation *Râm! Râm!* and never to take life or tyrannize over any one. Mardan Sinh on his return to Bhirkura made one Bhikha his disciple, and the latter finally settled in Bara-gâon. This happened some four hundred years ago, and the Bhikha Sâhib *qaddî* or seat was thus founded. It may be noticed in regard to the above account that a Muhammadan Faqir is represented as enjoining the repetition of the strictly Hindu formula *Râm! Râm!* If the legend is a correct statement of fact, the circumstance is an interesting illustration of the partial amalgamation of Muhammadan and Hindu forms, which we know is the aim of some of the Vaishnava reformers."

3 At the last Census the sect of Bhikha Sâhib included 1,227 votaries.

Bhîl—(Sanskrit, *Bhîlla*).—We have in these Provinces only a few fragments of the great Bhîl race of Central India. Professor Lassen identifies them with the Phyllitæ of Ptolemy, whom Colonel Yule classes with the Pulinda, a general term for various aboriginal races. According to Dr Caldwell the name Bhilla (*vil*, *bil*) means "a bow."¹ There is a curious early Hindu legend, which, however, is not found in the Mahâbhârata, which tells how Drona, the preceptor of the Pândavas, was jealous of the skill of the Bhîl Râja in archery, and directed him and his subjects to cut off the forefinger of the right hand.² Another story tells that Mahâdeva was one day reclining sick in the forest, when a beautiful damsel appeared, the first sight of whom effected a cure for all his pain. The result of their meeting was the birth of many children, one of whom, distinguished for his ugliness, slew the favourite bull of Mahâdeva, for which crime he was expelled to the woods and mountains, and his descendants have been the outcast Bhîls. They still call them-

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, XIII., 361. General Cunningham takes Phyllitæ to correspond to *parma* and to mean "leaf clad" like the Juanga up to the present day. Dr. Oppert seems to consider Phyllitæ as derived from Bhîl. *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 80, sq.

² Wheeler, *History of India*, I., 84, sq. *Westminster Review*, 1868, page 397.

selves "thieves of Mahâdeva."¹ There can be little doubt that they are a branch of the great Dravidian race which is found along the mountains of Central India, and are akin to the Gonds, Kharwârs, Mânjhârs, Cheros, and Santâls, who live further to the eastward. Sir J. Malcolm² thinks that they have emigrated from Jodhpur and Udaipur to their present territory, and as a proof that they were originally lords of the land, he points to the fact of their giving the *tika* to some of the existing Râjput princes. The most solemn form of oath among them is mixing cowdung, salt, and the *jawâri* millet, and lifting the mixture over their heads.³ They have, like many of the indigenous tribes, some relations with the local gods, and are priests to one of the most ancient temples in Omkâr. According to Sir A. Lyall⁴ they are divided into a variety of distinct groups, a few based on a reputed common descent, but most of them apparently muddled together by simple contiguity of habitation, or the natural banding together of the number necessary for maintaining and defending themselves. Sir J. Malcolm says that the Bhil women are invariably the advocates of the cause of good order. They have much influence, and the principal hope of an enemy's escape lies in the known humanity of the women. They worship peculiarly Sitala, the small-pox goddess, and Mahâdeva, from whom they claim descent.⁵ The chief historical tradition regarding them in these Provinces is that they were formerly rulers in Rohilkhand, whence they were expelled by the Janghâra Râjputs.⁶ The clans recorded at the last Census in these Provinces were the Gujanawa, Jaiswâr, Karâwai, Majhûraya, Munaharbhâi, Râma, and Râwat.

2. The best available account of the manners and customs of the real Bhils is that given by a writer in the *Rajputâna Gazetteer*:—"All Bhils go about armed with the tribal weapons, bows and arrows; except the headmen and others of consequence, who carry swords. They are a dirty race. The men wear their hair long, and hanging in uncombed

¹ Captain Hunter, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, VIII, 181. Malcolm, *Central India*, I., 526.

² *Ibid.*, I., 519.

³ Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 172.

⁴ *Asiatic Studies*, 160.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II., 180, sq.

⁶ *Baron's Settlement Report*, 19. *Gazetteer, North-West Provinces*, V., 578, sq.

⁷ I., 177, sqq., III., 64, 114.

masses from their shoulders. Their women are small and ugly, those of rank being distinguishable by the number of brass rings on their legs, often extending from the ankle to the knee. They kill and eat kine and are much addicted to spirits, vast quantities of which are consumed on festive occasions, which frequently end in quarrels and bloodshed. Fond of fighting, they resort to their weapons on the slightest provocation, but their most serious affrays arise out of cattle-lifting and the abduction of women. If a Bhil run away with a betrothed girl, a feud will frequently ensue, which will not end till the villages of both sides have been burnt and many lives lost. As a rule they keep tolerably quiet in the winter and the rainy season; but in the summer, between the gathering in of the last harvest and the sowing of the next, they begin raiding on each other; and even the richest think this time, which hangs heavily on their hands, favourable for paying off old scores. There are sixty different sections of the Bhil tribe in Bânswâra.

3. " Bhil children are not betrothed by their parents in their childhood. A Bhil girl is often unmarried up to the age of twenty or twenty-five.

Marriage. Her father can take no steps of his own accord for his daughter's marriage; were he to do, suspicion would be aroused that there was something wrong with the girl. His friends can take steps on his behalf, but he himself must wait for a proposal from the father of some eligible lad, which he can entertain or not as he pleases. Should he accept the proposal, the lad's father, having provided himself with a couple of pots of liquor, will return to complete the ceremony of betrothal (*sagari*), sitting down under some large tree or other cool spot in the village. The girl's father and his friends join them, and the question as to the amount of money to be paid by the father of the lad to the father of the girl is there and then disposed of. This amount varies according to the means and status of the parties concerned from thirty to sixty rupees. When this is settled, the father of the boy makes a cup of leaves of the *Dhák* tree (*Butea frondosa*), and placing it on the top of the pot of liquor, puts inside it two annas worth of copper coins. The girl's brother or some other boy among her relations then takes the coin and turns the cup of leaves upside down. The betrothal is then complete; and nothing remains but to drink the liquor, which is done on the spot. The girl's father then kills a goat and gives a

Vez. II.

feast to his future son-in-law and his father, after which the latter return home.

4. "Some four or six months after the betrothal arrangements for the wedding are set on foot. The boy's father takes a present of clothes, a sheet (*sāri*), a petticoat, and a cosset for the girl, who at once puts them on. Her father, if well off, kills a buffalo, if poor, a goat, and gives a feast to all the village, and to the boy's father and all his friends. On this occasion a Brāhman is called in, and on receipt of four annas from each father, fixes some auspicious day for the wedding. Half the amount previously fixed upon is now paid to the girl's father in cash, and the remainder in kind, in the shape of a bullock, etc. On the day fixed by the Brāhman for the wedding, the boy, after being well anointed with *pīṭ*, a mixture of turmeric, flour, etc., proceeds to the girl's house, accompanied by all his friends and relations. They halt at the borders of the village, whither the girl's father, with all his friends, and accompanied by drummers and women singing, proceeds to meet them, and after performing the ceremony of *tīṭak*, that is marking the boy on the forehead with saffron, escorts them into the village, and settles them down under some large tree or in some other convenient spot. The girl's father then returns to his house, and the boy's father pays certain customary dues.

5. "On the evening of the wedding day a great feast is given by the bride's father; and the bride and bridegroom are provided with a separate hut for the night, while their friends get drunk. Next morning the bride's father presents his daughter with a bullock or a cow, or with any other worldly goods with which he may wish to endow her, and after presenting the boy's father with a turban gives him leave to depart.

6. "The following are the ceremonies said to be performed by

Funeral rites.

the Bhils on occasions of death. When a man dies a natural death, his corpse is covered with white cloths, and a supply of food in the shape of flour, clarified butter and sugar, uncooked (called *sāra*), is placed by his side for use on his journey to the next world. They are afterwards thrown into the water by the side of which he is burnt. A small copper coin is also thrown on the ground when the corpse is burnt, apparently as a sort of fee for the use of the ground for the purpose. Three days after the body has been burnt, the ashes are thrown into the water, and a cairn is raised on the spot by the people present, who

wring out their clothes over the stones after bathing. On the twelfth day after death, all friends, far and near, assemble for the *kāla* or mortuary feast, for which the heir of the deceased, if well-to-do in the world, will have provided some two hundred rupees worth of spirits. In the morning the ceremony of the *arad* is commenced, and lasts generally throughout the day.

7. "The Bhopa, or witch-finder of the village, is seated on a wooden platform, and places near him a big earthen pot with a brass dish over the mouth of it. A couple of Bhils beat this with drum sticks, at the same time singing funeral dirges. The spirit of the deceased is now supposed to enter the heart of the Bhopa, and through him to demand whatever it may want. Should the man have died a natural death, the spirit will call for milk, ghi, etc., and will repeat through the Bhopa the words he said just before his death. Whatever is demanded is at once supplied to the Bhopa, who smells the articles given to him and puts them down by his side. Should the deceased have died a violent death, the Bhopa generally calls for a bow and arrows, or for a gun, whichever the deceased was killed with, and works himself up into much excitement, going through the motions of firing, shouting the war cry, etc. The spirits of the ancestors of the deceased are also called up by the Bhopa, and the same ceremonies are gone through with them. In the evening the Bhil Jogi appears on the scene and goes through various ceremonies. He is first of all provided with twelve *sers* of wheat flour and five *sers* maize flour, which he places in front of the bier of the deceased. The Jogi then plants his brass image of a horse on the top of the flour and sticks an arrow in front of it, and also some small copper coins. Two empty jars, the mouths tied up, one with red and the other with white cloth, are also placed by him in front of the horse. A rope is next tied round the horse's neck. The Jogi then calls out the names of the ancestors of the deceased, at the same time signifying to the heir that now is the time for him to give alms or religious grants to the memory of his father or ancestors, which appeal is generally responded to; and a cow is given to the Jogi. The heir after this directs the Jogi to provide the deceased with food. The Jogi cooks some rice and milk and pours it into a hole he has dug in the ground. He also pours in an ewer full of liquor and drops in a copper coin and then fills up the hole again with earth. Other mystic rites

follow; the heir makes presents to the Jogi, and the family friends give presents to the heir. The ceremonies conclude with some hard drinking. The next day the relatives of the deceased give a feast to the village, each relation providing something towards this feast,—one rice, another ghi, and so forth. The honour of providing a buffalo belongs to the son-in-law of the deceased, and failing him, the brother-in-law and the brother.

8. "The widow of the deceased, if young, is now asked by all the relatives whether she wishes to remain in her late husband's house or to be married again—a ceremony called *nātra*. If she, as she generally does, wishes to be married again, she replies that she will return to her father's house. If the deceased has a younger brother, he will at once step forward and assert that he will not allow her to go away to any other man's house; and going up to her he throws his cloak over the widow, who thus becomes his wife, and is taken away by him to his house there and then. Eight days afterwards, when she is supposed to have done mourning for her late husband, her new husband supplies her with a set of amulets in the place of those given by her former lord, which are taken off. The *nātra* is then complete. The younger brother is not, however, compelled to keep his brother's widow should he not wish to do so, but it is such a point of honour that a boy even will claim and exercise the right. Should the deceased have no younger brother, then the widow is taken away by her father or relations eight days after the *kāta*. She will remain at her father's house for a month or two, when either she will be given away in *nātra* to some man with her father's consent or she will run off and take up her quarters in some man's house without his consent. The man she flies to may not wish her to come, and may have no idea of her intention to do so; but nevertheless, once she has placed herself under his protection he is in honour bound to keep her, and she remains as his wife. The widow can go to any man she pleases provided he be of a different section to that of her father.

9. "Should the father have given his widowed daughter away in *nātra*, her late husband's heir will at once pick a quarrel and demand satisfaction from him. As a preliminary step the heir generally attacks the widow's father and burns down his house, after which, in course of time, a committee (*pañchāyat*) is generally appointed to settle

the dispute, when a sum of money, varying from fifty to two hundred rupees, according to the means of the parties, is awarded to the heir in compensation. The father will then in his turn demand repayment from his son-in-law, and should the latter refuse to pay up, he proceeds to burn down his house and make himself otherwise objectionable till his claim is satisfied. Should the widow run off, as she generally does, without her father's or relatives' consent, her deceased husband's heir will at once attack the man to whose protection she has gone.

10. "Should some unmarried and unbetrothed girl take a fancy to and run off with some young man, her father and brothers, as soon as they have found out where she has gone to, at once attack and burn his house, or in the event of their being unable to do that they burn any house in the village which comes handy. This most probably is resented and retaliated, and the quarrel may be prolonged for some time, but, as a rule, a *panchāyat* is sooner or later appointed to settle the dispute. The compensation awarded to the girl's father never exceeds one hundred rupees. A hole is dug in the ground and filled with water. The girl's father and his son-in-law then each drop a stone into it, and their quarrel is finally settled. The *panchāyat* and party then consume some liquor at the son-in-law's expense, and depart in peace.

11. "Should an unmarried and unbetrothed girl refuse to run off with a man when asked to do so, the man will generally shout out in the village that he has taken so-and-so's daughter's hand, and woe to him who dares to marry her. A *panchāyat* is then assembled, and the father generally gives his daughter to the man, receiving double the compensation that would have been awarded had the girl consented to marry him in the first instance. Should a girl unmarried, but who has been betrothed, run off with somebody else, the man to whom she was betrothed at once attacks and possibly kills the man whom she has run off with, and burns both his and the girl's father's huts. The quarrel often goes on for years, and leads to retaliation, till the entire village community on either side are drawn into the quarrel and turn out and attack each other.

12. "Should a wife run away from her husband to somebody else, the injured husband and his friends often burn the whole of the village in which the recipient of the faithless wife's favours lives. Eventually, when a *panchāyat* is formed, the wife is often given up and taken back by her husband, any children that she may have

borne in the meantime being left with their father. Should the man refuse to give her up, then some two hundred rupees is awarded to the husband in compensation by the *pañchāyat*, not to mention the liquor required by the latter during their consultation.

18. "The Bhîls erect stone tablets in memory of their male dead

(never to deceased women) and, as a rule, the
figure of the deceased is carved on the stone.

He is often represented on horseback with sword, lance, or shield, sometimes on foot, but invariably clothed in the best of long clothes and armed with a sword and shield,—a style of dress he was quite unaccustomed to in the flesh. Tablets are also erected to boys who have died while still minors; but instead of a figure of the deceased, a large hooded snake is carved on the stone.

14. "Bhîls will eat the flesh of all animals, even that of a dead

camel. Bhîls and Mînas having no order of
priesthood, resort to the Guru of the Chamârs.

These Gurus assume the appellations and badges of Brâhmans. They do not adopt disciples; but the office is hereditary, descending from the father to all the sons. The minstrel of the Bhîls is called Kamriya. The principal deities of the Bhîls and Mînas are Mâtâji and Devi. They also worship Agru. The Chauhân warrior-saint Gûgaji is much worshipped in Sirohi as a protector from the bite of the *nâg sânp* or cobra.¹ He is worshipped under the form of a warrior on horseback and also under the form of a cobra."

Distribution of the Bhîls according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT	Number	DISTRICT	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1	Morâdâbâd . . .	5
Agra	17	Jhânsi	109
Farrukhâbâd . . .	1	Tarâi	14
Mainpuri	5	TOTAL	190
Etâwah	1	Males	117
Etah	37	Females	73

¹ Some account of Gûga, known also as Zâhir Dîwân, will be found in the *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 183. At the last Census 122,991 persons returned themselves as his votaries.

Bhoksa, Bhuksa.¹—A tribe akin to the Thârus who are found in the Tarâi and Bhâbar from Pilibhîit District on the East to Chândpur on the Ganges on the West. There are a few scattered colonies in Dehra Dûn. There are three main sections of them, the Pûrabi or "Eastern" which lies east of the Râmganga and as far west as the Gola or Sârda, where the Thârus begin; the Pachhami or "Western" which inhabits the Pâtli Dûn and Bijnor between the Râmganga and the Ganges; and a section reaching still further west from the Ganges to the Jumna. Between the Eastern and Western sections there is no friendly intercourse; each shuns the other, and the usual fictions are repeated about eating frogs and lizards.²

2. Dr. Stewart thus describes them in Bijnor.³—"The members of the tribe are of short stature and
 Appearance. very sparse in habit, in both respects somewhat exceeding the ordinary Hindu peasant of the District, from whom, however, they do not differ much in general build or in complexion. The eyes are small; the opening of the eye lids being narrow, linear and horizontal (the inner angle not inclining downwards so far as observed); the face is very broad across the cheek bones, and the nose is depressed, thus increasing the general flatness of the face: the jaw is prognathous and the lower lip thick and the moustache and beard are very scanty." Some of these peculiarities are more marked in some individuals than in others, but one Bhoksa will always recognise another, though a Kumâuni says he only recognises them when they speak. The features of the women are similar to those of the men.

3. Some of them claim to be Panwâr Râjputs, and "assert that
 Traditions of origin. their chief Udayjît was driven from house and home in a quarrel that he had with his brother Jagatdeo, the Râja of Dhâranagar, and came to dwell with a few followers at Banbasa on the Sârda. Udayjît had not been there long when his aid was solicited by the Râja of Kumaun, whose territories required defence against some of the neighbouring powers. Success attended the efforts of the Panwâr, and the gratitude of the Râja induced him

¹ For the Mabra Bhuksas mainly based on notes collected through Mr. G. A. Tweedy, C. S., Dehra Dûn.

² Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 371; J. C. Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, LXXX., 41.

³ *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIV., II., 150.

to offer his defenders an asylum in his territories. Upon this they are represented to have left Banbasa and to have taken up their residence in their present abodes."¹ But their traditions are very vague; some say that they came from the Dakkhin; others, from Delhi; others, that they were expelled from the Dakkhin by the Marhattas. The Mahra or Dehra Dûn branch say that they came into the District from beyond the Ganges at the invitation of Râja Sukh Dâs Sâh of Tehri, who used them as guides through the jungles on his shooting expeditions. They fix their emigration into the Dûn at some five generations from the present day.

4. The last Census returns give the septs of the Bluksas, as Jâdubansi, Panwâr, Partuja, Râjbansi, and
Tribal organisation. Tunwar. Sir H. M. Elliot describes them as having fifteen septs (*gotra*). of which twelve are of superior and three of inferior rank. The superior, according to his list, are Bargûjar, Tabâri, Barhaniya, Jalwar, Adhoi, Dugugiya, Râthaur, Negauriya, Jalâl, Upâdhya, Chauhân, Dunwaniya. The three inferior are the Dîmar—Râthaur (descended from a Teli woman), Dhangra (from a hill woman), and Goli from a woman of the barber caste. "The names of these tribes indicate considerable mixture with other classes, both Râjput and Brâhman. Bhoksas are prohibited marrying in their own *gotra*; but may select any other *gotra* they choose. Those who reside in Kilpurî and Sabna are said occasionally to intermarry with the Thârus. The Bhâts of the Bhuksas, who are descended from a follower of Udayjit, reside still at Banbasa, and pay occasional visits to their constituents. The priests (*purohit*) of the Bhuksas are Kananjya Brâhmins, who are also descended from one of the followers of Udayjit."

5 The meaning of the word Mahra is not certain. The same title is applied to Kahârs when it means "a
The Mahra Bhuksas. confidential person who enters the inner apartments" (Sanskrit *mahilla*, "a woman"). This name is applied only to the Dehra Dûn section, and fresh immigrants are known as Bhoksa. Marriage in a man's *gotra* and in the family of the maternal uncle for two generations is prohibited. They may marry as many wives as they please, but two is usually the limit. If a girl, prior to marriage, is detected in an intrigue with a man of her own tribe, her parents have to pay a fine, which generally amounts to five

¹ Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, s.g.

rupees, to the tribal council, and then she is restored and allowed to marry in the tribe; but if her lover be a man of lower caste than herself she is permanently excommunicated. If her lover be a man of higher caste than herself the offence is condoned on payment of a fine of ten rupees. Boys are generally married at the age of twelve. No money is paid by either side. If the marriage be subsequently annulled and the girl marries again, her second husband has to refund the expenses of the first marriage. The only valid grounds for annulling a marriage are infidelity on the part of the wife or the impotence of the husband. If either leave the other for any reason other than the above they will be fined by the council. When a man divorces his wife all he does is to turn her out of his house and inform the council. Widows can marry again by the form known as *kardō*. Children, the fruit of such union, are regarded as legitimate, and inherit on the same footing as the offspring of a regular marriage. It is asserted that the widow may marry the elder as well as the younger brother of her late husband; but this is so much opposed to the usual custom regulating such cases that it must be received with caution. When the widow marries outside the family of her late husband the guardianship of the children of the first marriage passes to her husband's brothers. There is no trace of the fiction by which the children of the second marriage are attributed to the late husband.

6. Of the tribe in the Dûn Mī. Baillie writes¹:—"The Mahras are the aboriginal inhabitants and occupy all the unhealthy villages in the Eastern Dûn, where no one else can live. These are also Rājputs, and are closely allied to the Bhoksas of the Rohilkhand Tarāi, and Thārus of the Oudh Tarāi. They are clearly all one and the same race. The Mahras have few traditions, except that their ancestors were Rājputs. They present many points of resemblance to the Bhoksas, though neither will acknowledge any connection with the other. They are of settled habits, dwellers in swamps and cultivators of rice, and are proof against malaria. They do not admit outsiders into the caste. They are timid and averse to intercourse with strangers. They generally marry on attaining puberty. They are in their habits and customs Hindus of the ordinary low caste type, and Gaur Brāhmans are employed by them as priests for marriage and funeral ceremonies. Remarriage of the widows is permitted. The widow is not obliged to marry her husband's elder

¹ *Census Report, North-West Provinces, I., 321.*

or younger brother. They eat pork and fowls, and drink spirits like most of the dwellers in the Tarāi swamps. Some of them are hunters, and catch game, and others are good fishermen." The traditions which point to a Rājput origin are, of course, as baseless as those of the Thārus and the allied races.

7. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. The caste supplies

Mahra Bhokas—midwives to the higher castes; so they attend
Birth ceremonies—each other at their confinements. On the

sixth day is the worship of Bihāi, who causes children to laugh or cry in their sleep. A ball of cowdung is made and wrapped up in a cloth. The midwife brings this ball to the mother and she worships it. On that day the entire house is plastered, and a dish of curry and rice is made and distributed among the clansmen and friends. The next day the mother gets some Ganges water from a Brāhman, and, mixing it with ordinary water, takes a bath. This is the only purification. After a month the shaving (*mūndin*) is performed, and on this occasion the clansmen are fed. There is no adoption ceremony. When a man marries a widow and has no issue it is very common for him to adopt one of his stepsons.

8. The betrothal is done in the usual way. At the marriage a

Mahra Bhokas—shed (*mūnro*) is erected in the courtyard, and
Marriage—beneath it the nine planets are worshipped.

After this the sacred fire is lighted, and the pair walk five times round it.

9. The dead are cremated, if possible, at the Ganges, and in

Mahra Bhokas—Disposal of the dead—any case the ashes are deposited in the sacred
river. The corpse is shrouded in a piece of

white cloth, five yards long, to which a yard of red cloth is attached. There is no ceremony at the cremation, but thirteen days after they give some grain, cloth, and vessels to a Brāhman, and this purifies them. On every day up to the thirteenth the mourners give a cake to the cow before they eat themselves. Every year, in the month of Kuār, they feed the relatives of their daughters in order to propitiate the ghosts of the dead—possibly a survival of the matriarchate.

10. The Eastern section are very closely connected with the

Eastern Bhokas—Thārus. "Both tribes," says Mr. E.
Manners and customs—Colvin,¹ "are superstitious, and, as a rule,

¹ Census Report, N.-W. P., 1865, I., Appendix 80, sqq.

truthful, much given to intoxicating drink and not very chaste; both more or less migratory, only continuing to cultivate the land until it is exhausted, and then moving on to fresh grounds; both utterly reckless with water with which they inundate their fields. They bear a good moral character; are inoffensive and peaceable, as well as intensely ignorant and indolent. They have no arts and manufactures, and live on the chase and a scanty cultivation. They are particularly fond of wild pig, and this may be one of the reasons why they change the site of their villages every two or three years. In some places they collect the wild jungle produce, but in no systematic way. They also engage in gold washing, extracting gold dust to the value of a few hundred rupees a year from the auriferous sands of the Sona Nadi. They are slowly but surely dying out, and now number only a few thousands." Mr. Colvin says that they are less intelligent than the Thârus. "To this day neither the Bhoksas nor the Thârus build even earthen walls for their houses, which are made of posts driven into the ground with beams resting upon them. They employ hill or plainsmen as blacksmiths; all which tends to prove that they never possessed knowledge sufficient to admit of their erecting the buildings or sinking the masonry wells, ruins of which still exist in the Tarai." Of their villages in Bijner Dr. Stewart says:—"All are built on the same plan of one straight street, generally of considerable width (in some cases as much as 40 or 50 feet) and kept very clean—in both respects differing remarkably from the villages of the plains. The huts are placed end to end, with intervals after every group of three or four, and the walls are for the most part built of wattle and dab, but sometimes of thatch (*chhappar*), of which latter the roofs are also constructed. The houses are windowless, but each has a door in front and another behind, the latter affording access to the shed for cattle, etc. The doorways and roofs are very low, and the floors of beaten earth are considerably raised above the general level of the grounds. Those Western Bhoksas do not at any time live in houses built on poles, as is stated to be the case with those opposite Kumaun."

11. This division of the Bhoksas has been so far Hinduised
 Eastern Bhoksas— that some of them employ Gaur Brâhmans
 Religion. in their marriage and funeral ceremonies.
 Some are Sikhs, and the wife follows the religion (*patâ*) of her husband, and the children that of their father. One of the Tarâi

Parganas is called Nānakmatla, after the great Sikh Guru, and there is a Sikh shrine there as well as at Dehra and Srinagar. But they have their own indigenous medicine men (*padhān*). They pay special devotion to the death goddess known as Bhawāni or Devi, whose functions are the same as those of the Thāru goddess, Kāhka. They have also two local saints, Sarwar Lakhi and Kālu Sayyid, of whom Dr Stewart could learn nothing. Sarwar Lakhi is evidently the famous Sakhi Sarwar Sultān, also known as Lakhdāta or the giver of lakhs. His real name was Sayyid Ahmad, and he flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. His principal shrine is at Nagaha, in the Dehra Ghāzi Khān District. He is said to have been a disciple of Bāba Nānak: he is the patron of athletes, and especialy of wrestling.¹ Kālu Sayyid may have some connection with Kāli Sinh, the Panjāb snake godling.² But he is more probably identical with the deity known to the Baheliyas as Kālu Bīr, to the Banjāras as Kālu Deo, and to the Kahārs, as Kālu Kahār. One story is that he was born of a Kahār girl, who by magical charms compelled King Solomon to marry her, with the result that she bore a son, Kālu Bāba, who is worshipped extensively by Kahāris, Chamāris, Samis, Gadariyas, and other low castes in the form of a fetish stick decorated with peacocks' feathers. The last Census shows 266,191 votaries of this godling. Sarwar Lakhi has a shrine at the entrance to the main pass through the Siwālk hills into the Pātli Dān, and all wayfarers, as they pass, of whatever race, tribe, or creed, make offerings to his shrine.

11. Like many isolated jungle tribes, they have acquired a reputation for sorcery and witchcraft. In Eastern Bhoksas— Witchcraft.. fact, Bhogsa or Bhoksa, is the name for a sorcerer in Garhwāl. "Some are even said to be able to assume the form of a wild animal, and thus accomplish the destruction of an enemy. Sudarsan Sāh rīd Garhwā of sorcerers in the following manner,—He called all the Bhogsas together under pretence of needing their assistance in some ceremony, and promised them all sorts of rewards should he succeed, and so induced them to come themselves and bring all their books with them. When all were assembled that had any pretensions to power as sorcerers, he caused

¹ Ibbetson, *Panjāb Ethnography*, 115; C. F. Oldham, *Contemporary Review*, XLVII., 412, sq.; *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, II., 181 sq.

² Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*, 114.

them to be bound hand and foot, and thrown with their books and implements into the river."¹

* *Distribution of the Bhoksas according to the Census of 1891.*

DISTRICT.	Mahra.	Bhoksa.	TOTAL.
Dehra Dûn	599	...	599
Morâdâbâd	8	...	8
Allahâbâd	92	...	92
Tarâi . . . . .	...	1,208	1,208
TOTAL	699	1,208	1,907

1. Bhot, Bot, Bhotiya²—(Sanskrit, *Bhota*).—A tribe originally of Hill origin. In the Panjâb, those who in the Spiti and Lahûl Districts returned themselves as Bot, merely imply that they are Tibetans. The proper name of the tract of Chinese territory, which we call Tibet, is Bod-yul, or Bodland, and the people Bod-pas, corrupted by the Indians into Bhotiyas—a name now applied to the Tibetans living on the borders between India and Tibet, while the people of Tibet Proper are called Hmuyas, and the country Hmudes. Boti is the name for the language, and Bot for the people; but they rarely apply it to themselves. "If they did," says Mr. Diack, "it would be like a Panjâbi describing himself as an Asiatic." There they consist of four classes—Jocho, Lonpa, Chhazang, Loban.³ In these Provinces a tribe of the same name is found in small numbers in the Kumaun Division. There they usually call themselves Raghubansî Râjputs, and trace their origin to Bhutwal in Nepâl. They fix their emigration into Northern Oudh in the reign of Nawâb Asaf-ud-daula (1775—1797). They now present a curious instance of a tribe of non-Aryan origin, who have in a very short time become completely Brâhmanised. Among some of them the rule of exogamy is that they do not marry their sons into families to which, within the memory of man, they have given daughters as brides. But others have adopted the complete Hindu law of exogamy, and the creation of a full set of Brâhmanical *gotras* is probably only a question of time.

¹ Atkinson, *loc. cit.* II., 832.

² Chiefly based on notes by Munshi Badri Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri, and Munshi Mahadeo Prasad, Head Master, Zillah School, Pilibhit.

³ *Panjâb Census Report, 1891, page 295, sq.*

2. These are of the usual Hindu type. When the bride's palanquin arrives at the house of her husband the gods are worshipped, and then she is admitted into the house. Some rice, silver, or gold, is put in the hands of the bridegroom, which he passes on to the bride. She places them in a winnowing fan, and makes them over as a present to the wife of the barber. This ceremony is known as *Karja bharna*. A man can have three wives and no more. The wife of the first marriage is the head wife, and she receives by inheritance a share one-tenth in excess of that given to the other wives. Marriage is generally performed under the age of fifteen, but no special age is fixed. No price is paid on either side. Concubinage and the levirate are allowed. There is no form of divorce, and though a man or woman is excommunicated if detected in illicit intercourse, they can be restored to caste on giving a tribal feast.

3. The marriage ceremonies are in the standard form. Respectable people marry by the common *charhana* ritual, which begins with the ceremonies at the door of the bride's house (*darwāza chār* or *duār chār*). When they come to the marriage shed (*māuro*), the officiating Brāhman does the usual worship. The bride's younger brother sprinkles parched grain over the pair, and receives from the father of the bride a sheet, which is known as *lāi bhujua*, or the remuneration for parching rice. Then the bridegroom rolls a stone over the parched rice on the ground, and this is known as the "line of the stone" (*patthar kī lakir*), which is the binding part of the ceremony. Then follows the tying of the clothes (*ganth bandhan*), and the circumambulation of the fire (*bhanwari*). Next comes the *pāsa sār*, where the bride and bridegroom exchange jewels—a survival of the gambling custom which appears in the standard ritual. Then follows the feeding of the bridegroom (*bāsi khilāna*), and the usual feast to the clansmen. After the marriage is over, on an auspicious day, the grass used as thatch for the wedding shed and other things are thrown into a river or tank by the women. This is called *maur serwāna*, "the setting afloat of the marriage crown." The lower kind of marriage is called *pājna*, in which all the ceremonies are done at the house of the husband. The last form, *dharana*, is simple concubinage. Persons who have not been married till they are of advanced years very often keep a woman in this way.

4. Those who die of cholera or snake-bite, and young children, are buried; others are cremated. There is no fixed burial-ground, and no ceremonies are performed at the time of burial. Richer people keep the ashes for removal to some sacred stream; others bury them. After the cremation a stalk of *kusa* grass is fixed in the ground near a tank, and water and sesamum is poured upon it for ten days so as to convert it into a refuge for the spirit until the rites are completed.

5. They employ Brāhmins as priests. Their chief object of worship is Devi, to whom goats are sacrificed. Young pigs are also occasionally offered to her.

The worshippers make the sacrifice and consume the meat themselves. They observe the usual festivals. On the Barsāti Amāwas, on the fifteenth of Jeth, women worship a banyan tree by walking round it and tying a thread round the trunk. This they do to increase the life of their husbands. Women fast on the Tija, or third day of Bhādon. At the Godiya, on the fifth of Kārttik, they worship the dragon, Nāg Deota, and girls offer dolls to Devi and Mahādeva. The cure of malignant spirits is the business of the exorcisor (*udwat*). Women reverence the *bargad* or banyan tree, because its name (*bargad*) is supposed to be connected with their husbands (*bar*).

6. They do not eat the turnip (*shalgam*). They will not touch a Phobi, Bhangī, Chumāī, or Kori. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, hare, deer, water-birds, and fish; they will not eat the monkey, cow, pig, fowl, crocodile, snake, lizard, rat, or other vermin. Intoxicating liquors are forbidden; *bhang* and *gānja* are used, but excess is reprobated.

7. Their occupation is agriculture; they do not hold land as zamīndārs but as tenants, and some work as field labourers. They practice no handicraft.

Distribution of the Bhotiyas according to the Census of 1891.

DISTRICT.	Number.	DISTRICT.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1	Garhwāl . . .	174
Gorakhpur . . .	6	Tarāī . . .	6
Kumaun . . .	7,270	TOTAL . . .	7,457

Bhuinhâr—(Sanskrit *Bhūmi*, "land," *khāra*, "maker").—An important tribe of landowners and agriculturists in the Eastern Districts. They are also known as Bābhan, Zamindār Brāhman, Grihasth Brāhman, or Pachhima, or "Western" Brāhmans. They must, of course, be very carefully distinguished from the Dravidian Bhuinhâr or Bhuiyâr tribe, of whom some account has been given in a separate article.

2. One story of their origin is that when Parasurāma destroyed the Kshatriya race, he set up in their place

Origin of tribe.

the descendants of Brāhmans, who, after a time, having abandoned their priestly functions, took to land-owning. Another story tells that a King of Ajudhya being childless, sought to obtain an heir by the sacrifice of a Brāhman, and purchased the son of the Rishi Jamadagni for that purpose. The uncle of the child, the sage Viswamitra, procured a child for the Rāja, and the sacrifice was rendered unnecessary; but the Brāhman boy having been sold was considered degraded, and was forced to take to agriculture, and became the ancestor of the Bhuinhârs. This, as Mr. Risley says, is the famous legend of Sunahsephas in another form.¹ "A third legend, perhaps the best known of all, traces the Bābhans back to a sacrifice offered by Jarasandha, King of Magadha, at which a very large number of Brāhmans, some say a lakh and-a-quarter, were required to be present. Jarasandha's Diwān, a Kāyasth of the Amisht or Karan sub-caste, did his best to meet the demand, but was driven to eke out the local supply by distributing sacred threads among members of the lower castes, and palming them off on the King as genuine Brāhmans. Jarasandha's suspicions being roused by the odd appearance of some of the guests, the Diwān was compelled to guarantee their respectability by eating the food which they had cooked, while the Brāhmans thus manufactured had to set up a caste of their own, the name of which (Bābhan or Bāhman) is popularly supposed to mean a sham Brāhman, just as in some districts an inferior Rājput is called a Rāwat, the corruption of the name betokening the corruption of the caste."²

3. It has been suggested³ that the legend that they were Brāh-

¹ *Tribes and Castes*, I., 28.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Calcutta Review*, LXXVI., 82.

mans degraded at the feast of Jarasandha points to the fact that after the downfall of Buddhism, the Bâbhans were those Brâhman (with whom there was possibly some admixture of Râjputs) who were either converted to the Buddhist faith or chose to live under the Buddhist system with a changed status. Of this, however, there is no evidence.

4. On their relations to Brâhman and Râjputs a competent observer, Mr. J. R. Reid, writes¹ :—" Their Brâhman and Chhatrî neighbours generally insinuate that they are of mixed breed, the offspring of Brâhman men and Chhatrî women, or of Chhatrî men and Brâhman women. By other castes they are regarded as a kind of Chhatrî, and are spoken of, and indeed often speak of themselves, as Bhuinhâr Thâkurs. Their clans (*gotra*) are the same as those of the Brâhman, and, like the latter, the Bhuinhârs wear a thread (*janak*) ninety-six hands breadth (*chana*) in length, the Chhatrî's thread being eighty only. They do not perform priestly offices, nor receive offerings given from a religious motive (*dân, dakshina*); but they are saluted with the *pranâm*, or *prîlâgi*, and return the salutation with a blessing (*asîrbâd*). Physically they are of the same type as the Brâhman or Chhatrî. In character they resemble the former more than the latter; and the following proverbs are in vogue :—

Nadi hai bhânwak,

Bhuinhâr hai ghânwak.

Sabse chatur Banya, tere chatur Sunâr ;

Lasê lûse lûke tehi thâgê Bhuinhâr.

"The Bhuinhâr is as uncertain as the current of the rivolet. Cutest of all is the Banya; enter than him is the goldsmith; but the Bhuinhâr with his wiles tricks them both."

Brâhman do not eat with them, nor do Râjputs. Possibly the existence of the Bhuinhâr class is also evidence of the time when the bonds of caste, as we know them, had not been forged, or, if forged, were not worn by those who pushed forward into new settlements beyond the old. It has been pointed out that to the non-Aryan inhabitants of the country all Aryans were of one caste,—all Brâhman. Within the Aryan body the exchange of priestly for military employment was not impossible, and did not involve degradation. It is un-

necessary, therefore, to believe that all Bhuinhārs are Brāhmanas of inferior, because illegitimate stock. They may be as true born as the Brāhmanas or Chhatris who surround them, and many of whom they possibly preceded in the occupation of the land. Further, it seems probable that many so called Kshatriya tribes are Brāhmanas who have fallen from their former status."

5. Dr. Oldham,¹ speaking of the Ghāzipur branch of the tribe, says that in popular estimation they share something of the sacredness which attaches to Brāhmanas. Their divisions are very often the same as those of well-known Rājput tribes, such as the Kinwār, Gautam, and Kausik Bhuinhārs; and the corresponding Rājput tribe sometimes names the same city or country as the first home of the race. In one case "a Bhuinhār and Rājput tribe both claim descent from a common ancestor, and each admits that the pretensions of the other are well founded. The Bhuinhār tribes all intermarry on terms of equality and eat together; on the other hand Rājputs marry their daughters into what they consider superior, and their sons into inferior tribes, and are very chary of eating together. There is consequently a much closer bond of sympathy between the various Bhuinhār tribes of the district than between the Rājputs."

6. Sir H. M. Elliot² thinks that "we perhaps have some indication of the true origin of the Bhuinhārs in the names Garga Bhūmi and Vasta Bhūmi, who are mentioned in the Harivansa as Kshatriya Brāhmanas, descendants of Kasya princes. Their name of Bhūmi and residence at Kāshi are much in favour of this view; moreover, there are to this day Garga and Vatsa gotras among the Sarwariya Brāhmanas."

7. The theory that they are a mixed race, derived from a congeries of low caste people accidentally brought together, is disproved by the high and uniform type of physiognomy and personal appearance which prevails among them. This, as Mr. Risley says, would not be the case "if they were descended from a crowd of low caste men promoted by the exigencies of a particular occasion, for brevet rank thus acquired would, in no case, carry with it the right of intermarriage with pure Brāhmanas or Rājputs, and the artificially formed group, being compelled to marry within its own limits, would necessarily perpetuate the low caste type of features and complexion. As a matter-of-fact, this is what happens

¹ Ghāzipur Memo. I., 43.

² Supplementary Glossary, s. v.

with the sham Rājputs whom we find in most of the outlying Districts of Bengal. They marry among themselves, never among the true Rājputs, and their features reproduce those of the particular aboriginal tribe from which they may happen to be sprung."

8. The next supposition is that they may be Brāhmans who for some cause (in this case it is said to have been because they took to agriculture) have been degraded. There are, of course, many so-called Brāhmans, like the Mahābrāhman, Ojha, or Dakaut, who are of a degraded type; but many of these are almost certainly derived from the lower races, and have little or no Aryan blood in their veins. Further, many true Brāhmans hold land and cultivate, and are not necessarily degraded by so doing.

9. Further, Mr. Risley seems to be certainly right in dwelling on the fact that while they have sections both of the territorial and eponymous class, the former regulate the exogamy of the tribe, and not the latter. Many lower castes have adopted Brāhmanical *gotras*; but it is unreasonable to suppose that if the Bhūinbārs were originally Brāhmans, and as such necessarily provided with a set of real Brāhmanical *gotras*, they would deliberately have discarded them and adopted a tribal organization of the territorial type. On this ground he regards them as more probably a branch of the Rājputs.

10. The question then of the origin of the Bhūinbārs is not capable of exact determination. Their traditions, customs, and appearance point all to a Brāhmanical origin; their tribal organization seems to show that they are not, as is asserted by some, Brāhmans, whose organization is obviously inadequate, have been degraded from their original position. They may be a real branch of the Aryan stock, who at a late age colonised the part of the country which they now inhabit, and being reduced by the exigencies of the new life to which they were called to adopt their sacerdotal functions, took to a life of agriculture, and in consequence of this organized their society on a tribal system analogous to those of the early Kshatriya settlers.

11. As has been shown, the tribal divisions of the Bhūinbārs are organised on both the territorial and eponymous systems. Of the former the chief sub-divisions in part of these Provinces are the Kinwār, Dākhār, Baghochhiya, Bemuwār, Karenawa, Kotraha, Niyān, Athariya, Jaithariya,